MASTER'S THESIS

Intergenerational linkages of crime for women in Guatemala.

Lopez Castillo, Maria Paula

Award date:
2019

Intergenerational Linkages of Crime for Women in Guatemala

Maria Paula Lopez Castillo
BBA (Guatemala), MA (Bond)

Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters by Research

Resubmitted 13 January 2019

Bond University

Faculty of Society & Design

ABSTRACT

This thesis ambitiously draws together a number of criminological concerns. One is the absence of empirical studies about crime and delinquency for Central American countries, specifically Guatemala, where there is a youthful population profile, a background of civil conflict and ongoing problems of urban gangs (Rodriguez, 2009). The second is to acknowledge that while women generally have lower levels of offending than males, there appears to be increasing feminisation of crime (Daly, 1998), and to explore what this means for women and their families particularly within a Latino context. A third strand is to rely upon one of the recent theories that does address female offending, General Strain Theory by Robert Agnew (1992), to examine its utility for those experiencing severe strain in Guatemala. A final thread is to add to an emergent research area on the intergenerational transmission of crime (Thornberry, 2005) to explain the associations between parental criminal acts and the subsequent delinquent behaviour of their offspring.

The study utilises a qualitative case study methodology that comprised fieldwork in a poor area of Guatemala City sited on a rubbish dump. The methods involved observations, informal conversations, and formal semi-structured qualitative interviews with women who lived and worked there. Data analysis revealed four common thematic areas among participants: (1) family structure and identity, (2) instrumental crime, (3) situational abuse and (4) subculture of violence. The present research contributes to our knowledge through exploring the life experiences of ten women with delinquent backgrounds living in extreme poverty and how these are impacting on the next generation, to extend the fledgling criminological endeavours in Guatemala.

DECLARATION

This thesis is submitted to Bond University in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts by Research. This thesis represents my own original work towards this research and contains no material which has been previously submitted for a degree or diploma at this University or any other institution, except where due acknowledgement is made.

Maria Paula Lopez Castillo

Signature: 

Date: 13 January 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first and foremost like to thank God, without Him, my journey in this thesis would not have been possible. I believe God places certain people and situations in our paths, and in my path, He has placed some of the most amazing individuals who have touched my life dearly.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my principal supervisor Assistant Professor Robyn Lincoln, who assisted, encouraged and supported me through all these years. I truly enjoyed working with her and learnt through her guidance and knowledge the importance of having a critical eye and to develop new skills that I didn't know I could ever have in my life. Thank you for believing in me.

I would also like to acknowledge Dr Terry Goldsworthy for serving as my secondary supervisor and Ms Mandei Saranah for all her help and administrative support. This work would not materialise without the encouragement and assistance of Bond University, the Faculty of Society and Design, the Ethics Committee and the Student Learning Support staff.

I wish to thank my family, my husband and baby who supported me through all this process and constantly encouraged me to move forward and to persevere in this path. Thank you for sacrificing time, giving me patience and understanding so I could finish this project. A special thanks to my mother who always has been there for me. For supporting me and believing in me when no one did. Thank you for teaching me the main and most important tools in life: honesty, truthfulness, principles, and values, and to never ever give up. These constitute your precious gifts to me which I now endeavour to transmit to my son, in the full realisation that the women who kindly offered their life stories to this project have not been as fortunate as I am.

Finally, my gratitude to Potter's House, as the organisation who helped me to conduct my field studies as well as luz heterogena (www.luzheterogenea.org) and Alfarero (*www.alfarero.org.gt*) for allowing me to use some of their photos to illustrate the children living in the dump area.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with a summary of a translated interview published in a local newspaper called *La Vanguardia* in Guatemala almost five years ago (Franco, 2013). The subject of the interview, Lucía Pérez, whose street-name is "Devil" was twenty years old at the time of the interview. In conversation with the reporter she explains what it means to belong to a gang or "mara" in Central America, as she was just aged twelve when she was recruited by Salvatrucha who had become a constant presence in her neighbourhood. Salvatrucha has been operating in Central America for over thirty years and is said to be one of the most dangerous gangs in the history of Central America (Cruz, 2017). She wanted to run away from her drunken stepfather who was constantly abusing her (both physically and sexually) and received help from her school friends, who were members of the gang. Her mother was absent from the home every day and so Devil roamed the streets more often than she went to school. She says that most of "the kids in my neighbourhood were recruited to be gang members". She claims that "in the neighbourhood, it was part of the routine, it was a form of socializing, a way to survive. Nobody told me it was good or bad. ... I thought it was the best way to defend myself, to be part of the strong group and not the weak one." She describes some of the tasks required of gang members and observes that the women have to do almost the same as men "stealing, selling drugs, weapons, organizing a kidnapping and murder" (Franco, 2013).

At age fifteen she was raped and fell pregnant to the "boss" of the gang but he reassured her that nothing bad was going to happen to her from then on as the gang offered physical and emotional protection for poor children like her. She now has two children and recollects that her "children needed to eat and since I was tattooed all over my body and everyone knows it's because you belong to a gang, and the police had arrested me several times, nobody gives you

a job" (Franco, 2013). Lucía has been sentenced to thirty years in prison for crimes ranging from homicide, robbery, and kidnapping to carrying arms. Her back is covered with tattoos that symbolise her deeds as one of the leaders of the gang, and during the eight years that she has been in the group she declares that her actions lead her to be worthy of the alias "Devil". She states that prison is "the best thing that ever happened" to her because she feels safe inside, where she is out of reach of the gang members and her children are being taken care of by her mother. She observes that "because either I'd be dead by now or doing harm to people, my two little daughters would be raised in an ugly and violent environment. … I'm safe here and my children are with my mum, who thankfully no longer lives with my stepfather." She voices strong opinions about the need for better policies "for girls like my daughters to not have as a first choice to be a delinquent" (Franco, 2013).

The above case study is drawn from an interview by a journalist with the young woman called Devil, which has been translated from Spanish by the present author. It is presented here as being emblematic of many aspects of the current research endeavour because it touches upon some of the specific research questions that are to be addressed. First it highlights the fact that while there is media attention to crime and justice issues in Guatemala and other Central American nations as evidenced by this interview, there is little robust empirical research being undertaken and even more significant is the paucity of officially collected statistics providing information about patterns of crime. Secondly the life story of Lucía exemplifies some of the key variables in the commission of crime by women. It is suggested that female crime rates are increasing but there are differences in the gendered push and pull factors, and the elevated rates for females may be due to increased justice attention rather than participation levels (Holmes, 2010). In this case, Lucía's abuse at the hands of her stepfather was at least one impetus for her seeking assistance outside her home. Yet, Devil also recounts how men and women within gang structures often perform similar deviant activities (murder, kidnapping)

and this blurring of sex-roles bears further interrogation. The interview material also signals the inescapable interplay between micro, meso and macro factors when attempting to explain crime and criminality. In this case there were many environmental and situational variables impacting on the individual circumstances of Lucía that led her inexorably to gang membership. Thus, it is imperative to examine how the General Theory of Strain (Agnew, 1992) might provide meaning and understanding about the "strains" experienced by Devil and her counterparts. Finally, this narrative demonstrates intergenerational linkages whereby crime and deviance in one generation have the potential to impact on the crime and deviance committed by or against the next generation. This interview with Lucía therefore served as the genesis of the present research for it highlighted these criminological concerns, raised key omissions in our contemporary knowledge, encouraged the adoption of theory, and hinted that a narrative or qualitative interview approach would be an appropriate means of investigating these topics.

BACKGROUND ON GUATEMALA AND THE REGION

Young people comprise more than 40 per cent of the population in Latin America and the Caribbean (United Nations, 2011). A sizeable proportion of the illegal acts in the region are committed by and against this vulnerable group, with an estimated 40 per cent of crimes being committed against those under 27 years in Central America (Moser, 2005). Additionally, crime is predominantly an urban phenomenon and in Latin America and the Caribbean approximately 77 per cent of its population live in cities, where there is a concentration of poor and Indigenous citizens (United Nations, 2011; 2012). These patterns are not unique to Latin America for it is well documented that most crime is committed by young people, they are the demographic group most likely to be victimised and that crime largely takes place in metropolitan centres (Braithwaite, 1989). However, many countries in the region have young population profiles

and are undergoing processes of rapid urbanisation which means that juvenile delinquency is a particularly acute problem in Guatemala, and yet remains relatively undocumented (Moser, 2005).

Moreover, social heterogeneity, cosmopolitanism and urban stress, produce conflicts or strains between traditional values and those who gravitate toward subcultures. For example, it has been observed that émigrés to the United States who escaped previous conflict zones in Latin America and who now have been deported from American shores have brought with them a “Latino gang culture” on their return (Moser, 2005). This has resulted in a wholesale importation of “street gangs” into the region, including Guatemala, that has exacerbated deviant and delinquent proclivities (Moser, 2005).

The violent crime problem facing Guatemala is significantly affecting adolescents and young adults. In 2009, 6498 people were killed, of whom 2368 were under 25 years (36%) and 720 (12%) were women (Little & Smith, 2009). The vast majority of these crimes are committed with firearms (83%) and yet remain inadequately investigated or prosecuted by the criminal justice system (Malone, 2012). Usually, the justice system shows low capacity and limited resources to investigate and punish crimes against the person, particularly for youth homicides where it is reported that only two out of every ten homicides reach the trial phase (Chant, 2007). Public safety is a deep social concern with perception studies showing 65 per cent consider violence and insecurity the two main problems that the country faces (Chant, 2007).

UNDERSTANDING FEMALE DELINQUENCY

Much of the discipline of criminology has focused on the area of juvenile crime and justice, especially from mid last century (Cunneen & White, 2015). As alluded to above it is known that it is predominantly committed by urban males, with overrepresentations of vulnerable groups and that entry into crime commission may be occurring at ever earlier ages (Hobbs, 1997). Their vulnerabilities are based in race and ethnic differences, socioeconomic inequality, gender, sexual preference and geographic territory (Loader, 1996; Farrington, 2004). There are six broad categories of offending that juveniles are most likely to be involved in including: drug dependent delinquency; violent delinquency; sexual delinquency; property crimes; incivility and anti-social behaviour; and status offences (alcohol use, unlicensed driving and underage sex) (Loeber, 2003). In addition, there is a range of motivational factors to be considered such as: acquisitiveness; identity-seeking; peer pressure; risk-taking; or escape from victimisation/abuse (Burfeind & Bartusch, 2011).

Attention has turned to an examination of alleged increases in the rates of juvenile delinquency by females (Daly, 1998). There appears to be an increasing feminisation of crime associated in part with the criminalisation of poverty (Western, 2010) and prevailing sexist and patriarchal cultures, but also as a product of women moving out of the domestic sphere (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013). Another implicit factor is the expanding corruption of "minors" in their various forms and participation of women and girls in aggravated incidents of prostitution, sexual abuse and drug trafficking (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013). Female delinquency embraces diverse activities. The most common are burglary, theft, prostitution, larceny and assault, and in addition, girls can be charged with status offences such as running away from home (Chesney-Lind, 1998). Yet, labelling girls as "violent" or "more violent" than in a previous era constitutes a "process of social construction" (Daly, 1998), and further, the

practice of labelling implies that when young females do employ violence then they are deemed to be "more vicious than their male counterparts" (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013, p. 54).

In recent decades, the female crime rate compared to that of males has increased progressively from ratios of 1:50 to 1:5, especially in Latin American countries (Malone, 2012). However, as Chesney-Lind states, "for most of the history of scholarship on delinquency, the problems of girls in trouble with the law have received limited treatment" (Chesney-Lind, 1998, p. xii). A main reason is that they were "so rarely involved in the juvenile justice system" (Chesney-Lind, 1998, p. xii). There is evidence of female involvement in gangs being roughly one-third of the total gang population (Burfeind & Bartusch, 2011). They have various motivations for joining gangs, "yet female gang members are more likely than male gang members to come from dysfunctional families characterised by abuse, conflict, and drug addiction" (Burfeind & Bartusch, 2011, p. 208).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study on which this thesis is based was informed by General Strain Theory (GST), which was developed by Robert Agnew and evolved from Robert Merton's theory of anomie (Agnew, 2010). It is a theory that expresses the pathological phenomenon of social disorganisation and its environment, which is when the rules do not satisfy the individual, producing a vacuum of standards, or when the individual is not integrated into society (Agnew, 2006). The GST argues that "adolescents are more likely to offend than children and adults because they are more likely to (a) experience those strains conducive to crime, and (b) cope with such strains through crime" (Agnew, 2006, p. 111). This sociological theory focuses on the effect of the social environment on crime (Agnew, 2006). In this case and for the purpose for this research, strains like parental rejection, supervision/discipline that is erratic, child abuse, negative school experiences, abusive peer relations, work in the secondary labour market, unemployment,

marital problems, criminal victimisation and residence in economically deprived are important elements (Agnew, 2006).

Of importance, is that GST is one of the very few criminological theories to have been constructed with females in mind (Agnew, 2009). Agnew states that females are more likely to experience strains like sexual abuse and gender discrimination. This may make them run away from home and consequently find it difficult to obtain legitimate work, so they often have to turn to crimes like theft and prostitution to survive out-of-home. Further, they are frequently "abused and exploited by the males they encounter on the street" (Chesney-Lind, 1998, pp. 138-139). Multiple research studies have shown the "increase in female headed households below the poverty line and the increase in female crime" (Agnew, 2006, p. 141). In his examination of the empirical literature, Agnew (2006, p. 141) notes that there is a higher risk of deviance among females who are "poor, are low in constraint and high in negative emotionality, are low in conventional support, are low in social control, associate with criminal others, hold beliefs favorable to crime, and reject traditional gender beliefs" (Agnew, 2006, p. 142). Yet, in his theory he is careful to relate these individual-level factors to the wider meso and macro correlates of crime.

In addition, excessive family conflict carries a negative stimulus, which can then increase hostility towards others and exacerbate the potential for aggression and consequently into crime (Agnew, 2006). In this way, females are more likely to endure a number of detrimental outcomes such as low self-control which may be relevant for explaining the abuse-offending relationship, where there is a cycle of abuse and delinquency that can lead to low self-control. Various research studies have shown the "increase in female headed households below the poverty line and the increase in female crime" (Agnew, 2006, p. 141). Thus, the GST not only links individual characteristics and behaviours to the broad societal-level influences

of strain, but also explores the intervening variables that relate to families and relationships (Agnew, 2009).

INTERGENERATIONAL LINKAGES OF CRIME

There are now some multigenerational studies that have explored the connections between antisocial behaviour and evidence for intergenerational pathways to reveal a level of consistency in antisocial behaviours across the generations (Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant & Lovegrove, 2009a, 2009b). This intergenerational transmission of crime has been found where parents exhibiting antisocial behaviour were more likely to have children manifesting similar externalised behaviours (Laible & Carlo, 2004), especially ones of aggression. Aggression is a main strain for committing delinquent acts, which are in turn associated with precarious identity formulation from adolescence to adulthood (Thornberry, 2005). Therefore, there is some empirical literature to support the existence of such a criminogenic legacy (Laible & Carlo, 2004; Farrington, 2004; Thornberry, 2009a, 2009b) but the longitudinal research is very limited.

When parents engage in criminal behaviours they are more likely to have offspring with tendencies toward deviant activities, given that "criminal or antisocial parents appear to be the strongest family factor predicting offending" (Welsh & Farrington, 2011). Similarly, with aggression, children of aggressive parents tend to become aggressive (Conger, Neppl, Jeong Kim & Scaramella, 2003). While this phenomenon is now widely accepted, our understandings of the processes involved has garnered less clarity, although some have suggested that one explanatory element can be victimisation at a youthful age because of its long-term physical, emotional, practical and financial consequences (Zedner, 2002). Thornberry (2005), on the other hand, presented a model of antisocial behaviour based on interactional theory. This theory is about reciprocal relations between social control variables and social learning through a

developmental stage in an individual (Thornberry, 2005). The author showed a direct linkage between parental antisocial behaviour that was ultimately transmitted to their offspring.

Some of the main negative outcomes from this relationship include a disordered transition to adulthood and this increases the probability to have antisocial behaviour (Thornberry, 2005). In this model, the antisocial behaviour is transmitted through a life-course disruption produced by the involvement in adolescent antisocial behaviour (Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant & Lovegrove, 2009a). Moreover, Besemer, Farrington, Bijleveld and Kaufman (2017), demonstrated that by combining labelling theory and theories of intergenerational transmission there were stronger explanation for why children of convicted parents have a higher risk of offending. Kim, Capaldi, Pears, Kerr and Owen (2009) are among the few authors who have studied a gender specific transmission of crime. They examined three generations based on the gender of parents and children, using over twenty years of data from the Oregon Youth Study (OYS) and associated research. They found that both parents' risk factors contribute directly to increase the risk of their family environment and contribute the transmission of these risk factors to their offspring (Kim, Capaldi, Pears & Owen, 2009).

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This thesis explores what appears to be a feminisation of crime in Guatemala, namely about strains relating to women, the intergenerational aspects of crime, and extends the fledgling criminological endeavours in Guatemala. For this, it was necessary to examine the lived experiences of women who previously were involved in delinquency, using the General Strain Theory (GST) as a guideline to identify an intergenerational linkage within these families. In order to achieve that, the study utilises a qualitative case study methodology that comprised fieldwork in a poor area of Guatemala City sited on a rubbish dump. The methods involved observations, informal conversations, and formal semi-structured qualitative interviews with

women who lived and worked there. Data analysis revealed four common themes among participants: (1) family structure and identity, (2) instrumental crime, (3) situational abuse and (4) subculture of violence. The present research contributes to our knowledge through exploring the life experiences of ten women living in extreme poverty with delinquent backgrounds of juvenile delinquency and how these are impacting on their offspring..

This qualitative research adopted an ethnographic research design centred on the main garbage dump of Guatemala City, located in Zone 3, which is a low socioeconomic community in the capital. The first phase of the project on the ground involved conversations and informal interviews with community leaders, personnel from NGOs and other relevant organisations to glean background data on the community. The second aspect and prime method comprised formal semi-structured interviews with ten females over 18 years old who had previously been involved in some kind of criminal or delinquent activities, ranging from minor property offending to serious personal crimes. It also included observation sessions to assist in mapping perspectives about patterns of youth activities, interpersonal relationships and community features. These qualitative data were transcribed and categorised under themes and the narratives were formally analysed.

As background to this qualitative research, the project endeavoured firstly to gather as much publicly available data as possible to demonstrate the current patterns of female youth offending in Guatemala. Attempts to obtain reliable statistical information via online sources were difficult and initiatives to contact agencies in-country tended to be ignored. However, through a request to the National Police, it was possible to obtain some statistical reports. While the United Nations (2008) recommends doing this official census every ten years, there has been no official census since 2007. According to these official data, Guatemala is going through one of its most violent periods in its contemporary history. In the last seven years, homicide rates have increased by more than 120 per cent (Policia Nacional Civil, 2007). Thus,

Guatemala is one of the most violent countries in the world, and this is particularly acute given that the human rights of the population are still not fully respected (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011). The proliferation and growth of juvenile gangs or "maras" is a phenomenon that has been increasing through the years and has affected in a negative way the country. In a country-wide survey made by the National Police, in 2004, people perceived gangs as the main criminal offenders in their neighbourhoods (Policia Nacional Civil, 2007). The violent crime problem facing Guatemala is significantly affecting adolescents and young adults (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011).

STRUCTURE OF THE PRESENT THESIS

This dissertation is presented in five chapters, the first comprising a general introduction to the thesis and the elements of the study. It presents a case study of a Central American female gang member to highlight the four aspects that this thesis ambitiously attempts to weave together. These ambitions include: the fact that there are little data and few studies on crime in Guatemala and Central America despite the high violent crime rates; that women especially youthful females are the focus here because their offending is said to be increasing; the utilisation of GST because of its attention to women, strain and to micro-macro elements; and finally the exploration of the new research topic of intergenerational transmission. Chapter I also explains briefly the theoretical framework used in this research, the methodological approach and the structure and significance of this thesis project.

Chapter II explores the literature used to support and guide the research study. It examines the nature of juvenile delinquency in more detail, particularly female involvement in delinquency and crime. It also explains the background theory, General Strain Theory (GST), as the main explanatory framework harnessed for this qualitative study and the connection to intergenerational linkages of crime for women in Guatemala. Moreover, it provides a wide

panorama of delinquency and crime in Central America (and Guatemala specifically), given that there is a paucity of such statistics. Chapter III outlines the research design and methodology used as well as the rationale of the design, specific methods and the main questions underpinning the fieldwork. It describes how the participants were recruited, how the data were analysed in addition to canvassing limitations and ethical considerations. Chapter IV presents the results from the fieldwork and observations as well as the thematic analysis drawn from the interview transcripts. It portrays the four thematic codes: family structure and identity, instrumental crime, situational abuse and subculture of violence and exemplifies these with liberal use of verbatim quotes from the participants in the study. Finally, Chapter V critically appraises the findings in relation to the informing framework of General Strain Theory, and the literature on female offending and intergenerational linkages to proffer some recommendations and conclusions to emerge from this empirical project.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT THESIS

This research adopts General Strain Theory (GST) as its explanatory framework to understand and guide the main research questions. The research is not intended to "test" any aspects of the theory, but rather to draw upon its principles because they encompass many of the main variables and dimensions addressed in this study (e.g. poverty, delinquent females, and repeated strain). Its key focus was to explore "intergenerational linkages" for female youthful offenders in Guatemala City, located in the garbage dump, Zone 3. Thus, the present research was cross-sectional but includes questions that address the impact for past and future generations.

Further, the study addresses the absence of scholarly work that has examined Latin America generally or Central America and Guatemala specifically. This research examined aspects of female juvenile delinquency from both a sociological and criminological

perspective, using the fieldwork site in Guatemala as a case study to explore the key concept of "intergenerational linkages". The focus was on female youth crime and its impact, consequences and outcomes for individuals and their families. It also explored factors such as ethnicity, family violence, place of residence along with the economic and social costs of crime (Marenin, 1995). The significance of the present work is in capturing the lived experiences of young women involved in a criminal subculture; its capacity to tease out aspects of Agnew's General Strain Theory; and the project of gathering contemporary data, for the first time, about young women and crime in Guatemala.

CHAPTER II
OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

There is a broad range of factors impacting on youthful offenders including trauma from victimisation within their families, situational stressors such as substance use, and macro-level considerations such as socioeconomic disadvantage, but a key observation is that many of those who come into contact with the juvenile justice system are from unstable families often because of the absence of parental figures (Loader, 1996; Loeber, 2003). For young people who have parents involved in crime, there is an increased risk of them becoming involved in criminal activities (Arthur, 2010; Baron, 2009; Barret & Katsiyannis, 2017; Basto-Pereira & Maia, 2018; Bates & Swan, 2014; Bichler, Christie-Merrall & Sechrest, 2011). Within the discipline of criminology, the vast majority of research and theoretical writings on crime and criminality of juvenile delinquents, their causes and intervention initiatives, have focused on males (Baumrid, 1968; Bernard, Vold, Snipes, & Gerould, 2010; Braithwaite, 1989; Brown & Carrabine, 2017; Burfeind & Bartusch, 2011; Bushong, 2013; Bynum & Thompson, 2005), and less on females (e.g., Chesney-Lind, 1998; Bruner, 2002). On average, male offending is more common, more frequent, and more serious (Springer & Roberts, 2010; Swisher & Dennison, 2016; Taskiran, Mutluer, Tufan, & Semerci, 2005) than for girls (Tracy & Kempf-Leonard, 1996; United Nations Office of Drugs & Crime, 2011; Vijayanath, Anitha, Raju, & Babladi, 2010).

Historically, female juvenile delinquency has been disregarded or downplayed (Chesney-Lind & Jones, 2010; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2014; Anderson, Walerych, Campbell, Barnes, Davidson, Campbell, & Petersen, 2016; Chauhan, Repucci, Burnette, & Reiner, 2010), with little attention given to girls who are involved in the

juvenile justice system (Chambliss, 2011; Calhoun, 2001; Alder & Worrall, 2004). This scenario has gradually changed, as statistics consistently illustrate the increasing involvement of female youths in crime and delinquency (Andrade, Silva, & Assumpcao, 2004; Bartek, Krebs, & Taylor, 1993; Clements-Nolle, Larson, Buttar, & Dermid-Gray, 2017; Colman, Kim, Mitchell-Herzfeld, & Shady, 2009). Robust longitudinal studies on females are rare, and of the modest number of such long-term studies of females, most have small samples. For example there is the Dunedin Study (Poulton, Moffitt, & Silva, 2015), the Rochester Study (Browning, Thornberry, & Porter, 1999), and the Denver Youth Survey (Esbensen, Huizinga, & Menard, 1999). Yet, it is this kind of empirical research that has aided our understanding of the phenomenon of the intergenerational transmission of crime (Blair & Maxwell, 2015; Basemer et al., 2017). Intergenerational transmission is primarily concerned with the behaviour of the parent in the past and transmitted to the child across various developmental stages (Dong & Krohn, 2015; Besemer, Farrington, & Bijleveld, 2013; Boutwell & Beaver, 2010).

This chapter canvasses a wide range of literatures that inform the present thesis and the research project that it reports. It explores the nature of juvenile delinquency, the rise of female juvenile delinquency and the relationship of crime within families and across generations. This notion of intergenerational transmission of crime comprises the discussion in the subsequent section of the chapter. What follows is a broad explanatory outline of the General Strain Theory by Robert Agnew as it offers theoretical guidance in the current endeavour. As noted in the introductory chapter, this thesis focuses its empirical attention on Guatemala, given the paucity of official and empirical works conducted in that country. Thus, the final substantive section of this chapter describes what is known about the patterns in Guatemala with respect to crime and delinquency.

THE NATURE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Young people (extending to the age of 24 or 25 years) can be involved in a range of deviance and crime, both as perpetrators and victims (Cunneen & White, 2015). Partially this is due to the fact that in many countries (especially in the Global South) young people represent a large proportion of the population and accumulate risk factors during a maturational period of experimentation (United Nations, 2011, 2012). Offences against property or the person, from minor to serious, perpetrated by and against young people are associated with various factors that operate to create situations of neighbourhood or social instability (Dahlstedt & Lozic, 2017; Delisi et al., 2015; Elliott & Menard, 1989). These factors can include poverty, the availability of weapons, the abuse of substances, urban migration and overpopulation, drug trafficking, poor education, dysfunctional justice systems, wealth inequality, and the frustrations of unemployment and social exclusion (Flowers, 2002; Foster & Hagan, 2009; Grebstein & Van Wyk, 2015; Guthrie, Cooper, Brown, & Metzger, 2012). A link between high urban growth rates and violence in cities has been long-observed (Kratcoski, 2012), where aggressive acts take place in public in areas of high population density (Laurikkala, 2011; Lawrence & Starkey, 2001; Chesney-Lind, 1998).

There are numerous studies in the criminology arena that are concentrated on juvenile delinquency and more specifically on males (Cunneen & White, 2015). According to authors such as Loader (1996) and Farrington (2004) there is abundant evidence that conditions such as socioeconomic inequality, gender differences, geographic territory, among others create the conditions to commit delinquent acts like drug use, violent and sexual delinquency, property crimes, antisocial behaviour and status offences like alcohol abuse (Hotz, Mullin, & Sanders, 1997; Howell, 2003; Huang & Ryan, 2014). The motivations are said to be varied but include identity-seeking, risk-taking, escape from victimisation (Burfeind & Bartusch, 2011; Hussain, Batool, Khan, & Bajwa, 2017; Jones, Brown, Wanamaker, & Greiner, 2014). More recent

studies in regards to this topic, demonstrate that youth are exhibiting greater levels of violence (Kerig, 2013; Khurana & Gavazzi, 2011), in terms of the significant increase of juveniles involved in delinquent acts and at the same time, an increase in victimisation of this group (World Bank, 2006).

Research suggests that males are more likely to exhibit serious and chronic offending trajectories when compared to females (Broidy et al., 2015; Loeber, 1996, 2003; Mallicoat & Ireland, 2013, Matsuura & Toichi, 2017; Menting, Castro, Wijngaards-De Meij, Leoniek, & Matthys, 2013; Miller, Malone, & Dodge, 2010; Noszczyk-Bernasiewicz, 2012; Monk-Turner, 1998). Relatedly, the empirical evidence suggests that male offending occurs at an earlier age with the commencement of offending behaviours of delinquent girls occurring almost uniformly during mid-adolescence (Odgers, Moffitt, Broadbent, Dickson, Hancox, & Harrington, 2008; Ostrowsky & Messner, 2005, Pallone, 1994; Pereira & Maia, 2017; Semel, 2010).

FEMALE INVOLVEMENT IN DELINQUENCY

While there previously existed a blinkered approach to female delinquency, this situation has transformed in the past four decades where there is now greater attention that has resulted in claims of increases in the rates of juvenile delinquency by females (Daly, 1998; Agnew, 2009; Arnot, Arnot, & Usborne, 1999; Cappellari, Polachek, & Tatsiramos, 2016). According to this tranche of studies, women and young girls do appear to be increasing their involvement in offending as they move into areas outside the domestic sphere, especially in more traditional cultures (Assher & Stams, 2015; Sanger, Ritzman, Schaefer, & Belau, 2010; Chesney-Lind, 2013, Chant, 2007), and participate in offences such as prostitution and drug trafficking (Chesney-Lind, 2013; Datchi & Ancis, 2017; Defazio, 2010).

As indicated in Chapter I, female crime rates have escalated in the last decade or more with some claims that this increase has been up to ten-fold, especially in Latin American countries (Malone, 2012; Carey, 2013). According to Burfeid and Bartusch (2011) the involvement of females in local gangs has also been growing exponentially where there is evidence that almost one-third of members are women despite the acknowledgement that we still know very little about this phenomenon (D'Unger, Land, & McCall, 2002; Zahn, 2008). Some of their delinquent activities range from prostitution, theft, assault and more specifically of status offences such as absconding (Chesney-Lind, 1998; Jones, 2011; Leve & Chamberlain, 2004). Even though females tend to be involved in minor forms of violence, some suggest that they can be as aggressive as males (Patton, 2009; Ness, 2010; Miller, 2010).

Some empirical works that have explored the adult life outcomes of female juvenile delinquents, claim that there is an elevated potential for adult criminality, although it seems to be of a lesser degree than for males (Sprott, Doob, & Zimring, 2009; Wolff, Baglivio, Vaughn, DeLisi, & Piquero, 2017). For example, the Philadelphia Birth Cohort study (Tracy & Kempf-Leonard, 1996) found that female juvenile offenders were four times more likely to have at least one arrest after the age of eighteen. On the other hand, a review of the empirical literature on the adult outcomes for females with delinquent or conduct-disorder in their backgrounds found that these women also had higher rates of mortality, psychiatric problems, abusive relationship social assistance, and involvement with social services (Chant, 2007; Tzoumakis, Lussier, & Corrado, 2012, 2015; Wodarski & Mapson, 2009; Molidor & Watkins, 2002). In a comparison of the adult outcomes for males and females, Lanctot, Cernkovich and Giordano (2007) observed that both were more vulnerable to negative life outcomes in adulthood citing problems such as involvement in domestic violence, substance use, criminal activity, number of partners, depressive tendencies, but for women the socioeconomic disadvantages were most acute. Those more embedded in a delinquent subculture were more likely to fare worse as

adults (Colman, Kim, & Mitchell-Herzfeld, 2009; Odgers et al., 2007; Pechorro, Goncalves, Maroco, Nunes, & Jesus, 2014; Pechorro, Ayala-Nunes, Nunes, Maia, & Goncalves, 2017; Pechorro, Maroco, Ray, Goncalves, & Nunes, 2018), and thus there are significant long-term consequences (Douglas & Plugge, 2000; Gage, Josephs, & Lunde, 2012; Wiggins, 2010).

INTERGENERATIONAL LINKAGES

There is limited research that addresses the link between parental offending and predictions of delinquent trajectories for male and female offspring (Giordano, 2010). Those few studies that have engaged with this issue report that parental offending, particularly maternal offending, may be the more consequential feature (Lahey et al., 2006; Kim, Capaldi, Pears, Kerr, & Owen, 2009; van Meurs, 2009; Rhule, McMahon, & Spieker, 2004; Silverhorn & Reynolds, 2001; Sipsma, Ickovics, Lin, & Kershaw, 2012). Publications by both the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (1993) and the World Bank (2006, p. iv) conclude that interpersonal violence impacts not only the victims "but also children who witness it" which can lead to violent behaviours in later life, and such claims are endorsed by empirical studies (e.g., Thornberry, Smith, & Howard, 1997; Greenwald, 2012). Childhood abuse is also associated with a higher probability that young people will engage in delinquent and violent behaviour, as well as absconding from home (Hay & Evans, 2006; Hay & Meldrum, 2010; Hoge, Guerra, & Boxer, 2008).

A related area of research indicates that crime is heavily concentrated within families (Beaver, 2013; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Isales, 2004; Lovegrove, 2010; Thornberry, 2009; Zavala, 2013). For example, in London, five per cent of families in the Cambridge Study of Delinquent Development comprised 24 per cent of offenders, and 46 per cent of convictions (Farrington et al., 1996, p. 9). In Pittsburgh 4.7 per cent of the families contained 30.4 per cent of offenders (Farrington, 2004). The overarching finding is that criminal involvement by one

or more members of a family reflects on the involvement of other family members (Diaz, 2014; Connolly & Beaver, 2018; Crossley, 2000; Sipsma & Kershaw, 2010; Whitten, Vecchio, Radford, & Fitzgerald, 2017). This probability equation strengthens further when more members of a family participate in crime (Farrington, 2004; Fergusson & Horwood, 1998; Cullen & Wilcox, 2014), although the findings from some studies do not concur with this observed pattern (Robins & Lewis, 1966; Murray et al., 2012; Besemer & Farrington, 2012). In the Cambridge Study of Delinquent Development the criminal involvement of fathers was the most important predictor of crime for sons (Farrington, 2007; Conger & Scarmella, 2003), and this effect was also extended to grandfathers who were deemed even more influential on both male and female offspring (Robins & Lewis, 1966). Remaining within that familial sphere, it is the case that both child abuse and neglect have been found to be predictive of future antisocial and criminal behaviour (Casse, Finkenhauer, Oosterman, van der Geest, & Schuengel, 2018; Waldkirch, Ng, & Cox, 2004; Markowitz, 2001; Savage, Palmer, & Martin, 2014; Thornberry & Henry, 2013), and this link is exacerbated for violence by step-parents or second partners (Van, Ruiter, De Graaf, & Nieuwbeerta, 2009; Cui, Gordon, & Wickrama, 2016; Halsey & Deegan, 2012; Kim & Owen, 2009).

In this context, the term "intergenerational transmission" broadly refers to behavioural characteristics and personality traits being passed to subsequent generations but particularly from parent to child (Boutwell & Beaver, 2010; Ward, 2001; Kaplan, Sanchez, & Hoffman, 2016). Research indicates that the behaviours of fathers and mothers affects children differently (Hess, Ittel, & Sisler, 2014). Empirical research on multiple generations uncovered evidence of complex pathways that vary according to the gender of the parent and the child (Kaplan & Hoffmann, 2016). For several decades, criminologists have been examining the association between parents and their offsprings' participation in delinquency. Some authors have explored genetic explanatory factors (Leve, Khurana, & Reich, 2015; Murray, Janson, & Farrington,

2007), while others have focused on situational variables like abuse, neglect and poor parenting practices (Robins & Herjanic, 1975; Schroeder, Osgood, & Oghia, 2010; Shaw, 2003; Simons, Lin, & Gordon, 2002; Simons, Wu, Lin, Gordon, & Conger, 2016; Simmons, et al., 2018; Stuewig & McClosky, 2005; Murray, 2007; Meldrum, Connolly, Flexon & Guerette, 2016). Other authors emphasise the relationship between those environmental factors and genetics (Kim, 2006; Frisell, Lichtenstein, & Langstrom, 2011).

However, the majority of studies have been conducted with the relationship of the father and offspring as the main focus (Pechorro, Poiares, Barroso, Nunes, & Jesus, 2015; Junger, Greene, Schipper, Hesper & Estourgie, 2013; Moitra, 2018). It is only very recently that more attention has been paid to the antisocial behaviours of the mothers and their role in families in the transmission of delinquency and deviance. There have been studies of the consequences of substance abuse by mothers and its transmission to their children (Reed & Cooper, 2015; Tzoumakis & Corrado, 2015; Lippold & Ram, 2018; Menard & Arter, 2013; Kandel, 1990; Gifford, Eldred, Evans, & Sloan, 2016; Gallupe & Baron, 2009). In addition, there are works that have examined the nexus between the early phases of development to show how critical they are for physical aggression tendencies (Horton, Rice, Piquero, & Piquero, 2004; Armenti, Snead, & Babcock, 2018; Blackman & Dring, 2016; Lacey, 2008; Thornberry, 2005; Sigfusdottir & Silver, 2004). So, in general from the studies available to date on intergenerational transmission, there are some indications that there may be greater confluence between fathers and sons (Thornberry, 2003; Laible & Carlo, 2004), but this is not to eschew the impact of maternal influence (Hope & Watt, 2003; Foster, 2012; Fang & Corso, 2007; Meldrum, Young, & Lehmann, 2015; Kury, Redo, & Shea, 2016; Rhoades, Leve, Eddy, & Chamberlain, 2016).

Parents tend to have more negative strains if they engage in antisocial behaviour during their adolescent years (Morash & Monn, 2007). They may struggle to obtain satisfactory

employment and be an effective parent (Routt & Anderson, 2014). These negative strains suffered from the early stages of their lives, can migrate into their adult lives and therefore be transmitted to the next generation, replicating the same strains they were facing in their past (Rebellon & Cohn, 2012; Moon & Morash, 2017). The offspring learn this behaviour from their parents and adapt themselves in this environment to later on be with antisocial peers, although it is not yet clear how much variance there is between males and females in this transmission trajectory (Millet & Petra, 2013; Lahey et al., 2006). Still, the link between parental antisocial behaviours and those of their children seem unequivocal (Farrington, 2004; Lin & Yi, 2016; Thaxton & Agnew, 2004). Furthermore, there have been some studies done on intergenerational transmission centring on specific aspects such as alcohol abuse (Bengston & Harootyan, 1994), but only a few studies have focused on parental delinquency and their children. Robins and colleagues (1975) found that from a group of urban youth, the delinquency of parents was predictive of the delinquency of the children. Further, there is continuity not only of self-reported delinquency but this is similarly reflected in official arrest rates (Robins, West, & Herjanic, 1975), which concurs with the work of others (e.g., Farrington, 2004; Robins & Lewis, 1966).

There may be a number of reasons why parental delinquent behaviour would be related to that among their children (Thornberry, 2005). Delinquent behaviour is associated with development and it is transitory from adolescence to adulthood (Presser, 2009). In many studies, delinquency is associated with early age pregnancy and parenthood, sexual abuse, low socio-economic status and volatile family structure (Hope, Wilder, & Watt, 2003; Hotz, Mullin, & Sanders, 1997; Haney, 2010; Magdol, Moffitt, Caspi, & Silva, 1998; Palauskas, 2015; Ryan & Leversee, 2010; Mensch & Kandel, 1988; Miller-Johnson et al., 1999; Monk-Turner, 1998; Thornberry, Smith, & Howard, 1997; Xie, Cairns, & Cairns, 2001). It is also related to involvement in adult crime and substance use, domestic violence, child maltreatment and low

effective parenting (Elliott, Huizinga, & Menard, 1989; Kandel, 1990; Laub, Nagin, & Sampson, 1998). One explanation for this suggests that there is an absence of protective factors that can shield young people from engagement in antisocial behaviour. Thornberry (2005) explored some of the reasons for the association between parental and child behaviours. The author found that financial stress and low effective parenting are predominant factors for the transmission of antisocial behaviour (Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant, & Lovegrove, 2009a, 2009b).

Familial similarity in offending is well documented (Beaver, 2013; Rowe & Farrington, 1997). An extensive line of research from the Cambridge Study of Delinquent Development (Farrington, 2004) has shown that children of convicted parents have a higher risk of criminal conviction themselves (Farrington, 2004; Besemer, Farrington, Bijleveld, & Kaufman, 2017; Foster, 2009). Additionally, male children were more likely to be criminally convicted even after a range of environmental and psychological features were taken into account, such as unemployment rates or the quality of housing. Other studies utilising data from both the United States (Boutwell, 2010) and Sweden (Frisell, 2011) report strong associations between criminal justice involvement in the family and the subsequent convictions of offspring.

This transmission of violence, it has been suggested, occurs through learning in that violence is acceptable in interpersonal relationships since the children have learned it from their own parents (Gonzalez-Mendez, 2014; Margolin, 1998; Shortt, Capaldi, Kim, & Tiberio, 2013; Laub & Sampson, 1998; Simons, Lin, & Gordon, 2002). It is not only physical and sexual abuse as there are psychological forms of abuse that may impact on cognitive and behavioural functions (Cui & Wickrama, 2016; Gonzalez-Mendez, 2014; Magdol, 1998; Armenti & Babcock, 2018; Fang & Corso, 2007; Millett, Kohl, Jonson-Reid, Drake, & Petra, 2013; Park, Smith, & Ireland, 2012; Fergusson & Horwood, 1998) and the social acceptance of violence in interpersonal relationships (Casse & Schuengel, 2018) that is subsequently replicated (World

Health Organization, 2002, 2004, 2007; Armenti & Babcock, 2018; Fang & Corso, 2007; Magdol & Silva, 1998; Millett & Petra, 2013; Park & Ireland, 2012; Shortt & Tiberio, 2013). So, exposure to domestic violence during childhood periods, may result in later adult psychological aggression (Taylor & Borduin, 2014; Tzoumakis & Corrado, 2015; McGrath & Kerley, 2011; Matsuura, Hasimoto, & Toichi, 2017).

The patterns and findings for psychological abuse have direct correlations with those of physical abuse, where receiving harsh physical punishment during childhood can later be manifest from or against a partner who uses these type of punishments (Cui & Wickrama, 2016). Furthermore, studies support these outcomes and conclusions by stating that children who have experienced abuse in their families, have a tendency to show aggression against their adult partners and children (Daly, 1998; Halsey & Deegan, 2012; Haney, 2010; Murray, 2007; Simons & Conger, 2002). Research shows that there is a correlation for children who received physical punishment, for they use the same type of aggression later on in their adulthood (Savage & Martin, 2014). Additionally, there are studies demonstrating a relationship between violence and adult victimisation in romantic relationships (Gonzalez-Mendez, 2014; Fang & Corso, 2007). Thus, individuals who have been raised in violent homes have an increased chance of experiencing victimisation as an adult, although the patterns may differ for males and females (Hay & Evans, 2006; Assher & Stams, 2015). For example, Assher and Stams (2015) state that there is a direct relationship between parental abuse and dating victimisation for women but there is no such correlation for men.

Moreover, Millet and Petra (2013) showed that growing up in a violent home and suffering from child abuse was related significantly to victimisation in adulthood and this relationship was stronger in females than in males. This link between child abuse and being raised in violent homes with aggression is complex in terms of the degree that these variables may affect an individual. They may develop weak interpersonal skills and conflict in their

relationships (Reed & Cooper, 2015). Consequently, peers have less tolerance with children who show weak interpersonal skills and reject a friendship with them (Routt & Anderson, 2014). This makes it hard for them to adapt themselves to new environments and so they tend to form associations with peers with similar antisocial behaviours (Silverman & Caldwell, 2008). When they get older, they tend to date and be with partners with similar antisocial backgrounds or with deficits in interpersonal relationships, which may result in a conflict and ultimately in intimate partner violence (Routt & Anderson, 2014). Additionally, the lack of education and low socio-economic status may affect adult victimisation according to Moitra and colleagues (2018). Alcohol and drug abuse have emerged as one of the main variables to predict domestic violence and adult victimisation (Wiggins, 2010; Reed, Nugent, & Cooper, 2015; Molidor, Nissen, & Watkins, 2002; Lippold, Hussong, Fosco, & Ram, 2018; Menard & Arter, 2013; Gifford & Sloan, 2016; Elliott & Menard, 1989; Clements-Nolle & Dermid-Gray, 2017).

Consequently, the transmission of crime appears to be an important source of influence in the development of criminal and delinquent behaviour (Hess, 2014). While several research studies have reported positive links between parent and child criminality, much of this work is limited in different ways. Firstly, the majority of intergenerational transmission studies are focused on male offspring (Choy, Raine, Venables, & Farrington, 2004; Murray, 2012; Basto-Pereira, 2018). Another limitation is that generally these types of studies used official measures of criminal behaviour which may underestimate the rate of offending in both parents and children. Finally, there has not yet been a major empirical work that has harnessed significant intergenerational data to examine this association between parental delinquency and developmental patterns of male and female delinquent behaviour during the same age-graded period.

BACKGROUND THEORY

General Strain Theory (GST) was developed by Robert Agnew and evolved from Robert Merton's theory of anomie and strain (Harcourt, 1998). It is a sociological theory that focuses on social disorganisation in the environment that renders an individual less likely to be integrated into society (Agnew, 1992, 1995, 2012). In particular, most of the factors inherent to GST involve relationships with others and may explain differences in crime rates across societies (Agnew, 2006). It argues that "adolescents are more likely to offend than children and adults because they are more likely to (a) experience those strains conducive to crime, and (b) cope with such strains through crime" (Agnew, 2006, p. 111). There are three major types of strains: individuals may lose something they value like money, friendships, family members, or partners; individuals may be treated in an adverse or negative manner by others like being sexually or physically abused by a family member or bullying, among others; and individuals may be unable to achieve their goals such as in relation to status, autonomy, and so on (Agnew, 2006, 2011).

Strains can inculcate negative emotions such as anger and depression (Agnew, 2012; Moon & Morash, 2013), which in turn create further pressure because individuals feel bad and want relief, with crime being one way to cope with strains or to take some form of corrective action (Agnew, 2012; Tedor, Sharp, & Kobayashi, 2015). The major tenets of general strain theory state that "individuals who experience strains become upset, and they may try to cope with their strains and negative emotions through crime" (Agnew, 2006, p. 18). Crime may allow them to escape their strains, deliver revenge against others, or thwart their negative emotions. Some are better at dealing with strains via crime than others (Agnew, 2006). Agnew refers to "biopsychological theories" to "ask why some individuals possess traits like low constraint and negative emotionality" (Agnew, 2006, p. 19). Such traits are influenced by biological factors and they are partly inherited genetically from a parent (Barn & Tan, 2012).

By “low constraint” Agnew is making reference to impulsivity or “antagonistic interactional styles” that can mean being “quick to anger” (Agnew, 2006, p. 20). These traits can be impacted by environmental factors, and of most relevance here are examples of parental rejection and punishment (Agnew, 2012).

Of note, is that the traits of low constraint and negative emotionality may exacerbate strains and the negative emotions associated with them (Agnew, 2005, 2006, 2012). This means that under the GST there is a spiral occurring between causes and effects. So that if an individual is in a strained environment they are likely to be impulsive and quick to anger; but by “the same token those who are highly impulsive and generally aggressive are more likely to invoke strained relations or outcomes in their environment (e.g., a young person at school who feels they do not fit in can be impulsive and angry but this lack of constraint and aggression can result in further strains in their school environment)” (Agnew, 2006, p. 22).

There are chronic or repeated strains that reduce the ability to legally cope with strains and, in turn, increase the predisposition to crime for several reasons. The chronic or repeated experience of strains “reduces individuals’ actual and perceived ability to cope in a legal manner” (Agnew, 2006, pp. 38-39). Moreover, this repeated strain contributes to negative emotional traits, including anger, frustration, depression and fear. Agnew talks of other strains such as “interpersonal conflict, crime, low social position, and racial and ethnic discrimination” and says these “strains lower the threshold for ‘perceived wrong or injury’ and increase the intensity of one’s anger, thereby contributing to trait anger” (Agnew, 2006, p. 40).

In the same way, there are types of strains which involve negative treatment by family members. These strains are often chronic or repetitive and can include “child abuse, harsh discipline by parents, demeaning treatment by teachers, the receipt of low grades, conflict with spouses, unemployment, and work in ‘bad’ jobs” (Agnew, 2006, p. 42). Child abuse, for example, is likely to reduce children’s bonds to parents. Some strains most likely to cause crime

affect juveniles, and most often involve relations with family members, such as rejection, conflict in the family, excessive or erratic punishment regimes, along with discord during divorce (Agnew, 2005). Some of these family-based strains, like parental rejection and poor disciplinary techniques, are highly correlated with crime commission (Agnew, 2004, 2005, 2006; Eitle, 2010). There are some crime-related strains that apply to both juveniles and adults. A rapidly growing body of research indicates that criminal victimisation increases the likelihood of subsequent crime (Agnew, 2006). Unjust strains are more likely to lead to anger and related emotions. In particular, they are especially likely to lead to other type of crime. This occurs because strains "create pressure for corrective action. Crime is one possible response, especially when people lack the ability to cope in a legal manner; the costs of criminal coping are low, and there is some disposition for criminal coping" (Sung & Agnew, 2015, p. 495).

There are some characteristics of strains that influence the power or the degree or size of the strain. Measuring these however will vary from one type of strain to another, so it is not easy to make comparisons (Agnew, 2011; Froggio & Agnew, 2007). Another one is the frequency of the strain which influences the magnitude of it. The centrality of the strain is another characteristic, which is whether it "threatens the core goals, needs, values, activities and identities of the individual" (Agnew, 2006, p. 63). According to Agnew, there are characteristics of strains that influence perceptions of injustice like when it involves the deliberate violation of a law, rule, regulation or social norm. Unjust behaviour involves more than an intentional effort to harm someone. For example, "parents voluntarily and intentionally punish their children on a regular basis, but we usually do not view their behavior as unjust" (Agnew, 2006, p. 63).

Strains associated with low social control are more likely to result in crime for several reasons: it reduces the costs of crime. "Juveniles who are rejected by parents, for example, can

engage in crime with little worry about whether their crime will hurt their parents and whether their parents will catch and punish them" (Agnew, 2006, p. 67), and it thereby reduces the ability to engage in legal coping. Individuals who are low in control often lack the social supports and resources that facilitate legal coping. Finally, it may contribute to the traits of negative emotionality and low constraint where "individuals who are poorly controlled by others, for example, are less likely to learn how to control themselves" (Agnew, 2006, p. 67).

There are strains that are said to be most likely to cause crime, and parental rejection is a prime one. Parental rejection can involve a lack of affection, interest, support and care for children, along with overt anger (Sigfusdottir, Kristjansson, & Agnew, 2012). Data indicate that parental rejection is strongly related to delinquency. Another strain is erratic or excessive discipline that is strongly related to crime (Agnew, 2012). Child abuse and neglect is another strain such as physical and sexual abuse, and other broad societal-level strains including residence in economically deprived communities, homelessness and discrimination (Agnew, 2006; Lo, Cheng, Bohm, & Zhong, 2018).

It is widely understood that many individuals engage in offending as they enter their adolescent years and this declines as they reach adulthood, usually in the early twenties, given that the peak is deemed to be the mid-to late teen years (Agnew, 2006, Higgins, Piquero, & Piquero, 2011). GST argues that "adolescents are more likely to offend than children and adults because they are more likely to (a) experience those strains conducive to crime, and (b) cope with such strains through crime. GST is quite compatible with biopsychological, social control and social learning theories" (Agnew, 2006, p. 111). Adolescents have a higher likelihood of possessing the traits of negative emotionality and low constraint. They often antagonise and provoke negative reactions from others like parents, teachers and peers (Agnew, 2006, Huck, Spraitz, Bowers, & Morris, 2017; Jang & Song, 2015).

Agnew (2006) states that females are more likely to experience strains like sexual abuse and gender discrimination. This may make them run away from home and consequently find it difficult to obtain legitimate work, so they often have to turn to crimes like theft and prostitution to survive on the street (Agnew, 2006). Further, they are frequently "abused and exploited by the males they encounter" (Chesney-Lind, 1998, pp. 138-139). Multiple research studies have mapped the "increase in female headed households below the poverty line and the increase in female crime" (Agnew, 2006, p. 141). In his examination of the empirical literature, Agnew (2006, p. 142) notes that "a criminal response should be more likely among females who are poor, are low in constraint and high in negative emotionality, are low in conventional support, are low in social control, associate with criminal others, hold beliefs favourable to crime, and reject traditional gender beliefs". Females therefore do experience strains conducive to crime. In fact, females are more likely than males to experience strains such as sexual abuse and gender discrimination (Agnew, 2009; Langton & Piquero, 2007).

One major explanation of serious female delinquency argues that such delinquency is often rooted in the sexual abuse of females by family members (Moon, Morash, McCluskey, & Hwang, 2007). There is often little that adolescent females can do to end this abuse through legal channels, so they frequently escape by running away from home. Their age and runaway status make it very difficult for them to obtain legitimate work, so they often have to turn to crimes like theft and prostitution to survive (Morash & Moon, 2007). Further, they are frequently abused by males (Agnew, 2009). In addition, females are often subject to sexual, physical and emotional abuse by their current and former romantic partners (Perez, Jennings, & Gover, 2008). This discrimination may assume a range of forms: "in the family, females (a) often perform low-skill, monotonous tasks that are not in keeping with their skills and qualifications; (b) routinely attend to the needs of their spouses and children but receive little

attention to their own needs; and (c) do a disproportionate share of all housework, even if they are working full time outside the home" (Agnew, 2006, p. 140).

CENTRAL AMERICA, GUATEMALA AND CRIME

Throughout Latin America there is a tendency toward having youthful population profiles of almost half (United Nations, 2011), and given the proportion of these populations that are twenty-five years or younger there is a concomittant preponderance of illegal acts committed by and against young people with one estimate being that those twenty-six years or younger are criminally victimised in Central America (Moser, 2005). Additionally, crime is predominantly an urban phenomenon and in the Caribbean, Latin America and Central America up to three-quarters of the citizens live in cities (United Nations, 2011, 2012). These patterns are not unique to Latin America for it is well documented that most crime is committed by young people, they are the demographic group most likely to be victimised and that crime largely takes place in metropolitan centres (Braithwaite, 1989). However, many countries in the region have young population profiles and are undergoing processes of rapid urbanisation which means that juvenile delinquency is a particularly acute problem in Guatemala, and yet remains relatively undocumented (Moser, 2005).

Youth gangs have been present in Central America's main cities for decades (Rodriguez, 2009). In the past, these comprised small bands of teenagers who operated in areas of larger cities and controlled their barrios or "turf" through the use of violence (Cruz, 2007). By the 1980s, these gangs reflected the behaviours of the ruling regimes by using violent means of suppressing any opposition to their control over areas (Lomborg, 2009). It is acknowledged that gang membership was difficult at that time as it was possible that it could draw the attention of the militaristic authorities (Cunningham & Cunningham, 2008). So, they certainly were in existence and definitely used violence but were limited partly by the social conflict occurring

around them. Following the demise of these authoritarian regimes, there was much more media, political and public scrutiny of the proliferation of these gangs in Central American cities (Cruz, 2011; Levenson, 1998). Many relate the increase in both numbers and levels of violence of the gangs to the fact that there was a significant Central American migration of refugees flowing to the United States because of the civil wars of the 1980s and 1990s (Blake, 2017). But, there has now been significant deportation of large groups of illegal immigrants from the United States, many of whom had criminal records, back to their countries of origin in Central America and this has overwhelmed their justice capacity (Blake, 2017; Casas Zamora, 2013).

In 1994, the USA implemented deportation laws for non-US citizens found guilty of a gang-related crime or if it was deemed that they had been a gang member (Wood, Gibson, Riberio, & Hamsho-Diaz, 2010). The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) and Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act broadened the definition of aggravated felony to include violent crimes, property offences and justice breaches which allowed deportation on any of these grounds (Martinez & Valenzuela, 2006). This Act permitted such definitions to be applied retrospectively where gang members were concerned (Government Accountability Office, 2010). Annual deportations began and then escalated in size by 400 per cent since 1996 (Funes, 2008). The initial wave of deportations occurred in the mid-1990s and it has been claimed that this inflow of gang members impacted on the structures and actions of the Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and Calle 18 groups as they emerged in the region. The mass deportation policy helped spread MS-13 and Calle 18 to Central America, where the local gang cultures quickly adapted to the California “mara” style (Marenin, 1995). In Guatemala the number of gang members was said to be around 32,000 in 2007-2008, with a homicide rate per 100,000 of 42 in 2010 (which is half that of Honduras, two-thirds that of El Salvador but three times greater than Nicaragua), and allegedly there were about 400 gang members being imprisoned (United Nations Office of Drugs & Crime, 2011).

What limited data are available indicate that poverty itself is not the only explanation for joining gangs (Rubio, 2007). There are numerous factors, and this observation alone should suggest that a solution to gang problems is not simply socioeconomic. The signing of the peace accords in 1996 to end the Guatemalan civil war created hope that Guatemala would move towards a more equal and fair society (Dammert & Malone, 2006; Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011). However, this formal peace accord has not achieved the improved levels of human development and security in Guatemala that were anticipated (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011).

The country has experienced high levels of violence (Alda & Beliz, 2007). While contemporary data are not available, homicide rates were seen to have increased by more than 120 per cent in the seven years to 2006 (Policia Nacional Civil, 2007). This growth is equivalent to an increase of more than 12 per cent per year from 1999, exceeding the population growth that is less than 2.6 per cent per annum. In 2006, the homicide rate for every hundred thousand inhabitants was 47 and Guatemala City reached 108 (Policia Nacional Civil, 2007). In previous decades, violence was largely associated with the dynamics of the civil war, mainly through repressive actions against civilians, primarily in the rural areas (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011), but this no longer solely results from state-initiated practices (Krause, 2014).

The current situation is complex as there is no single cause to explain the high levels of violence (Little & Smith, 2009) but it is most likely attributable to social exclusion and the paucity of law enforcement (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011). The benefits generated by the Guatemalan economy are not equitably distributed among the various social strata, for it is one of the most unequal countries in Latin America (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011). Unemployment is particularly high for young people (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011; Coello, 2013), the education system is characterised as being inadequate to develop skills

that assist in employability, and thus many youth seek alternative solutions in the informal economy (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011). A fraction of this population who also is affected by negative social conditions such as weak social integration mechanisms, discrimination and victimisation, may become engaged in crime (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011). At the same time Guatemala suffers institutional weaknesses (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011) to deal with illicit activities such as smuggling goods, kidnapping, people trafficking, weapons and drug trafficking, along with the official corruption associated with these domestic and transnational crimes (Piccato, 2017). The criminal organisations still maintain links with national state institutions and with influential sectors of society (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011), and both state and criminal actors appear to benefit from high levels of impunity (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011; Perez, Turicos, & Farina, 2008; Santamaria, Carey, Davis, & Menjavar, 2017).

As a result, the resources from the national budget are diverted from social and productive investment towards the financing of institutions responsible for public security that are already overburdened in the fulfilment of those demands (Ungar, 2017). Public health is also affected by the reallocation of resources that could be distributed to preventive health programmes or for the improvement of healthcare, especially for injuries caused by violence (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011). Furthermore, the country suffers a lack of direct international investment and a loss of revenue from tourism when some foreign investors and tourists prefer to invest or travel to safer destinations (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011). Similarly, violence produces losses in quality of life from its economically-active population, given that a homicide victim can no longer engage in and be productive in the economy (Chalk, 2011). The following figures provide some estimates of homicides registered in the country, derived from National Police data, albeit now quite dated.

Figure 1: A translation by the author of National Police homicide figures from 1995 to 2006 in Guatemala.

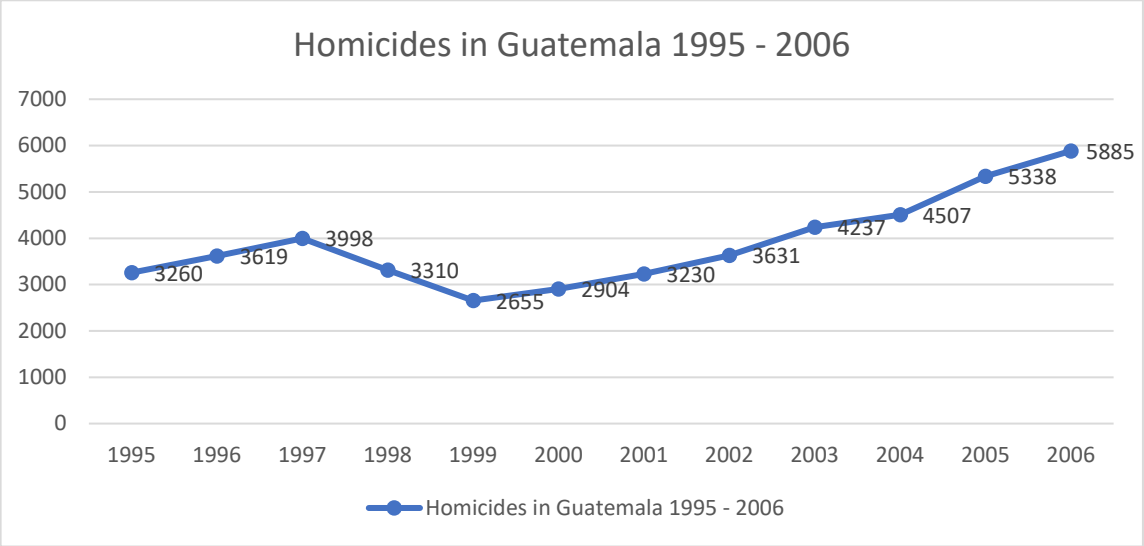


Figure 2: A translation by the author of the homicide rates per 100,000 provided by the National Police for Guatemala from 1995 to 2006.

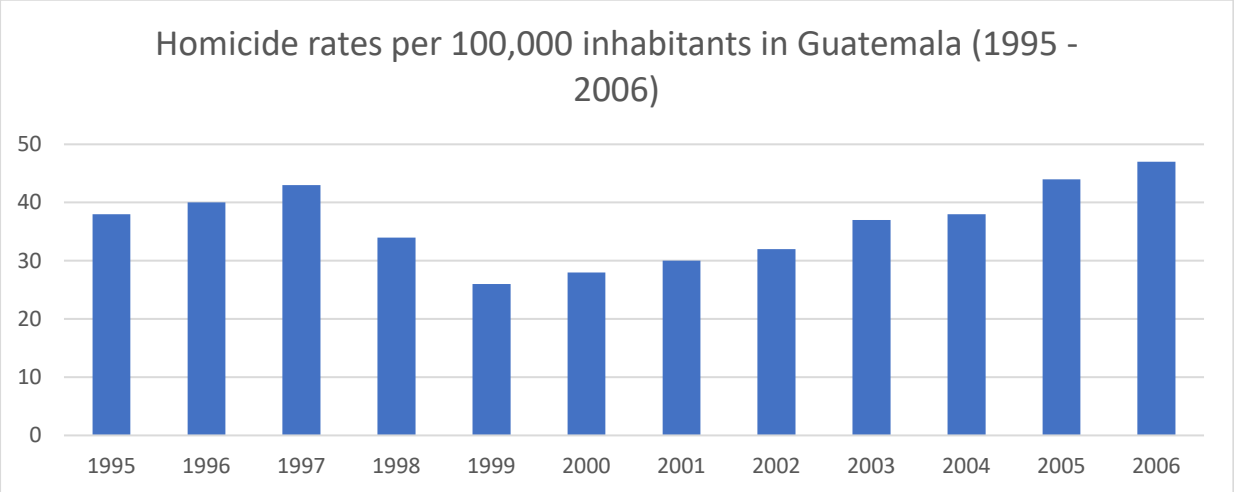


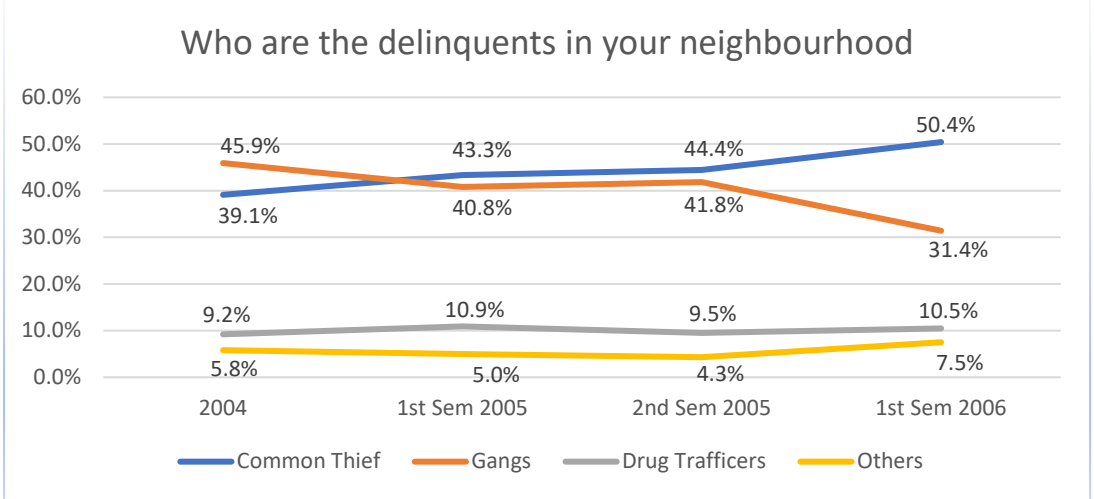
Figure 3: Translation by the author of the proportions of different types of crime in Guatemala City in the first half of 2007 from National Police data.

Frequency of different types of crime suffered by the population of Guatemala City in the first semester of 2007

Robberies	81.1%
Motor Vehicle Parts Theft	4.1%
Threats	3.7%
Motor Vehicle Theft	3.7%
Extorsion	2.0%
Assaults	1.6%
Burglaries	1.2%
Kidnapping	0.8%
Domestic Violence	0.4%
Scamming	0.4%
Sexual Assaults	0.4%
Others	0.4%

It is important to note that according to the Guatemalan National Police, around three-quarters of illicit acts committed are not reported to the police although estimating levels of unreported crimes is fraught with difficulty (National Police, 2007). From those that are officially notified, the most frequent illicit act is robbery with 81.1 per cent and largely this is the theft from the person of mobile phones. It can be assumed that these are a tool for committing other crimes such as extortion and stealing bank accounts. It is believed by the National Police that other types of serious crimes such as murders, kidnappings, sexual assault and domestic violence are not reported to them and therefore not represented in their statistics (National Police, 2007). From a survey conducted by the Guatemalan National Police some information about public perceptions and the activities of gang members can be gleaned.

Figure 4: Translation by the author of the perceptions about the percentages of offenders according to National Police data from 2007.

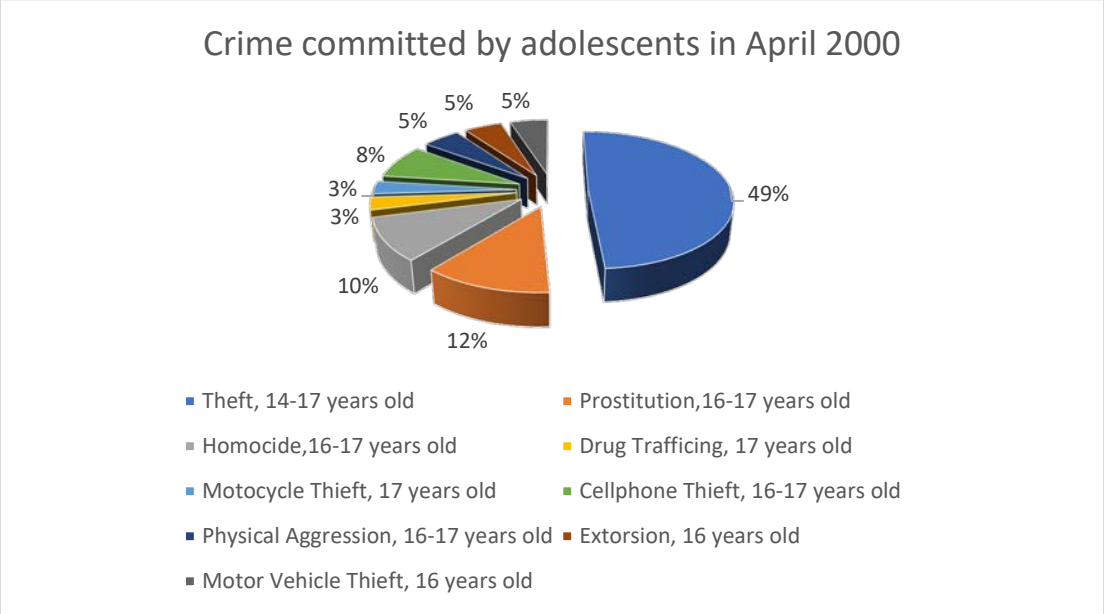


According to a United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (2007) study, most street crime is committed by young men between the ages of 15 and 24, often against their peers. The higher the share of this demographic group, the greater the number of potential perpetrators and victims there will be in the society (United Nations Office of Drugs & Crime, 2007). Violent crime is often attributed to economic factors (United Nations Office of Drugs & Crime, 2006), and indeed the distribution of wealth is more significant than poverty in predicting violence levels. “It has been argued that wealth disparities provide criminals with both a justification (addressing social injustice) and an opportunity (wealth to steal) for their activities” (United Nations Office of Drugs & Crime, 2007, p. 12).

The violent crime problem facing Guatemala is significantly affecting adolescents and young adults (United Nations, 2012). In 2009, 6498 people were killed, of whom 2368 were under twenty-five years (36%) and 720 (12%) were women (Chant, 2007). The vast majority of these crimes are committed with firearms (83%) and yet remain inadequately investigated or prosecuted by the criminal justice system (Chant, 2007). Usually, the justice system shows low capacity and limited resources to investigate and punish crimes against the person,

particularly for youth homicides where it is reported that only two out of every ten homicides reach the trial phase (Chant, 2007). Public safety is a deep social concern with perception studies showing 65 per cent consider violence and insecurity the two main problems that the country faces (Chant, 2007). The offences committed by children and youth of Guatemala City as at April 2000 showed that 49 per cent comprised theft by those aged 14 to 17 years, followed by prostitution by juveniles between 16 and 17 years old, and the third category is homicide committed by those of the same age group.

Figure 5: Translation by the author of the percentages of crimes committed by adolescents as at April 2000 from data supplied by Ley Orgánica para la Protección del Niño y el Adolescente, Año 2000.



One of the main “causal” factors for delinquent acts for juvenile Guatemalans is having a violent home with domestic abuse (Ley Orgánica, 2000). This can be translated into physical, sexual and emotional abuse in their families (Hojman, 2004). Substance abuse, such as alcohol was another factor which negatively affected Guatemalan families (Ley Orgánica, 2000). For rural areas in Guatemala, abandonment is associated directly with low socio-economic status with parents looking constantly for jobs, and therefore having to leave their children by themselves (Ley Orgánica, 2000).

CONCLUSION

As is clear from this overview of relevant sets of literature, there is very little official or empirical data relating to crime and delinquency in Guatemala, and what is available publicly is already quite dated and aggregated. There are also very few studies that have examined the intergenerational transmission of crime outside of countries like the United States, United Kingdom and The Netherlands with no research undertaken in Central America nor Guatemala. The chapter also presented aspects of General Strain Theory (GST) as it is one of the very few criminological theories to have been constructed with females in mind. This research will use General Strain Theory (GST) as its explanatory framework to understand and guide the main research questions. The project is not intended to "test" any aspects of the theory, but rather to adopt it as a guide because its principles encompass many of the main variables and dimensions addressed in this study (e.g., poverty, delinquent females, and repeated strain).

The combination of a gendered approach with criminological theories, such a General Strain Theory, has promoted an important advance in the understanding of the complex ways gender intersects with delinquency. Juveniles experience stressors like abuse, family volatility, neglect, alcohol or drug abuse and specially absence of a father or mother (Venkatesh, 2008; Holmqvist, 2017). Further, there is evidence of the involvement of young people in crime when one or both parents are themselves engaged in criminal activities and this has been called the intergenerational link. However, most of the research conducted so far has concentrated on males, even though there is evidence of the rise of female involvement in criminal acts, particularly in countries like Guatemala where crime rates committed by juveniles are increasing and the role of women in those crime groups are more accentuated (Huertas, Lucero, & Swedberg, 2016).

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The purview of this chapter is to outline the overarching research design of the present project, which essentially comprises fieldwork in a case study approach to examine the consequences of crime for women in Guatemala. The chapter provides a rationale for why this is an important topic to explore, namely the effects of crime, especially on women, in this disadvantaged Central American community, and in the context of an absence of criminological studies in Guatemala. The chapter describes the specific methodologies adopted in the current study in some detail: ethnographic fieldwork, observations and formal face-to-face interviews. It also includes descriptions of the broader research goals and the setting. This explication involves a discussion about how the data were collected and preserved such as for field notes and transcripts; the distinctions between the formal interviews conducted with the women versus the informal conversations with key informants at the fieldwork location which includes diary-notations and transcribing; details about the participants and their recruitment; the ethical considerations such as safety concerns; and also setting out the techniques used to analyse the data. Thus, this chapter contains information about the basic design of the study, the overarching research questions, the methods used in collecting the data, information regarding the sample participants, and data analysis procedures employed. It concludes by raising the limitations in the methodology and the procedures used in the study.

RATIONALE AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is exploratory in nature given that no such empirical study has ever been carried out in Guatemala to capture the patterns of crime and their impacts on women and their families. Indeed, there are few publicly available statistics about crime in general and even less about the patterns for females. As has been demonstrated in the review of the literature (see Chapter II), when research has been conducted it often combines the Latino countries or those of Central America, or even more broadly extends to all of South America. Partly based on its exploratory character, it was deemed essential that a qualitative research design was most appropriate in this instance. It was also seen as imperative to conduct fieldwork in order to provide a contextualised perspective of the reality that the women are facing on a daily basis and to glean their insights.

Another important consideration was the adoption of a phenomenological approach. This is particularly suitable because its purpose is to gather detailed, in-depth descriptions of everyday lived experiences from the participants (Yin, 2009). The objective of the phenomenological approach is to illuminate the specific and to identify phenomena through the ways that participants perceive their own situations (Creswell, 2003). This strategy permits connection between the researcher and participants, in situ, to provide understanding of the personal experiences of delinquent acts and how these have subsequently affected families and communities (Tracy, 2013). Thus, the general aims were to explore the women's experiences of female juvenile delinquency and their perceptions of the antecedents from their families of origin, as well as how these then might impact on their own offspring (Yin, 2009).

The present research design is intended to explore broad factors of female juvenile delinquency such as poverty, ethnicity, socially disorganised environments and the role of women in society. It also garners individual-level information aimed at understanding the personal experiences of women who were involved in juvenile delinquency and the

consequences for their families across generations. Through the formal interviews with volunteer participants, the data collection focused on the lived experience of the subjects of this research. Thus, according to Giorgi (2009) from an epistemological point of view, phenomenological approaches draw on personal knowledge and adopt a subjective perspective to yield deeper qualitative interpretations. As such they are apposite when exploring subjective experiences, for they can offer insights into individuals' perceptions and actions. This has been described as an insider or emic perspective (Giorgi, 2009) which enables critical categories and meanings to emerge from the research data (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 2013). The classification, sorting and arranging of the transcribed interviews permitted observations about relationships found in the data.

Given the exploratory nature of this research, in the absence of any previous study capturing these kinds of data, the overarching research question is posed as a general aim that underscores its more comprehensive remit. The focus was to explore intergenerational linkages for females who had engaged in officially-sanctioned youthful offending in Guatemala. There is some empirical literature to support the existence of such a criminogenic legacy but longitudinal research is very limited. While the present project was cross-sectional it included questions that addressed the impact for past and future generations and thus included a temporal dimension. Some elements of this intergenerational effect include investigating whether young women and girls escape from brutal homes to join seemingly brutal gangs. There is also the paradoxical aspect where young women strive to be treated with equal rights and to possess equivalent responsibilities as men, and yet they are treated generally in subservient positions and often sexually exploited in the case of those who join gangs. Another aspect is to discern whether these young women were positive about their gang involvement but their aspirations for their own children are for them not to become members.

This thesis therefore draws on a qualitative research design and methods, and adopts a narrative approach (Bruner, 2002; Presser, 2009). In this case it relies upon observations in the field, informal conversations, the keeping of notes and records plus formal in-person interviews to examine ways in which the women are making meaning of their lives. This was deemed the optimal design given that there are so few published biographies or official documents upon which to base this research endeavour (Crossley, 2000; Danelo, 2017). The narratives provide a means of studying experiences and capturing the ways that "they interpret their past" and present (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 375) but with the emphasis being on the storytellers' perspective.

SPECIFIC METHODS

This qualitative cross-sectional study involved three elements. The first is in essence an ethnographic field study of an impoverished community in Zone 3 in Guatemala City (Danelo, 2017). The second method comprised observations, conversations and informal interviews with community leaders, personnel from NGOs and other relevant organisations to glean background data on the community and its members. The third element and prime method comprised interviews with a sample of ten adult women over eighteen years old drawn from the approximate 3,000 women residing in Zone 3, who previously have been involved in some kind of criminal or delinquent activities, ranging from minor property offending to serious personal crimes (Worrall, 2012). This qualitative study adopted a purposive sampling with three broad guiding criteria, namely: the study sought adult women who were over eighteen years of age; those who had current responsibilities for families, descendants, or dependants; and who had been involved in or experienced some kind of officially-sanctioned delinquency in their younger lives.

Purposive sampling was particularly apt given that "it is often used when there is only a limited number of potential participants based on the selection criteria" (Denzin, 1999, p. 67). In qualitative research the sample size is considered large enough if the relevant issues have been identified and the stories start becoming repetitive (Suresh & Chandrashekara, 2012). Qualitative samples ought to be sufficiently large so that important perceptions are uncovered but avoid repetition (Presser, 2009). There are no prescriptions about this, but one study reviewed over 560 qualitative works to arrive at an average of thirty-one (Mason, 2010), others suggest a minimum of six (Morse, 1994), and another provides a range of five to twenty-five informants (Creswell, 2003). Qualitative samples must be large enough to ensure that most or all of the perceptions are uncovered and the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). So, the sample for this case study accords with these broad guidelines (Creswell, 2003), and thus ten participants were deemed appropriate.

Qualitative research can encompass three sources of data collection including interviews, observations and reviews of documents (Tracy, 2013; Morse, 1994). This research utilised semi-structured interview data in order to unfold the meaning of the participants' experiences. The interview process was a guided conversation that allowed the researcher to cover the basic material, yet still had the flexibility to ask follow-up questions for further details around the main research questions about intergenerational linkages flowing from female delinquency. The approach was able to concentrate on the "nature of the experiences people have had" (Pease & Pease, 2004, p. 141) in order to explain relationships and patterns that were observed (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Despite the potential for bias in this type of research enterprise the subjectivity is tempered by acknowledging that reflexive research directly involves the researcher in social enquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Personal reading of the interview material does not necessarily undermine the interpretations but rather recognises the

iterative nature of qualitative research (Denzin, 1999). The stories of the women are included as direct quotes in the next chapter (Chapter IV) as a reflection of their experiences, but there is of necessity some abstraction and extraction of key concepts to provide generalisability.

The validity and reliability of this study was assured by triangulation, where "sources of data are put together to validate a given explanation of a situation" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 141). In this case, they comprised field notes that contained observations and information gleaned from informal conversations at the site, a reflexive journal to offer context to the interviews, as well as the formal face-to-face interview materials (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The field notes included data proffered by informants and were of benefit to provide some estimations of the population and patterns of behaviours, since there are no official statistical data available for this sector in the country. The observations and visual images from the fieldwork were helpful to encapsulate the environment of the women and helped to understand their backgrounds and living situations. The reflective journal was a personal record kept by the researcher in order to capture reactions during the interviews and site visits. This process was particularly useful to understand and evaluate the perceived emotions and thoughts of the participants. The researcher kept all the journal notes taken during each interview and during the time in the field in order to evaluate the potential environmental impacts as well as the reactions of each participant.

RESEARCH SETTING

Guatemala City is the capital of the country and also reportedly the largest city in Central America, with a population of over three million people (Peres, 2010). The city comprises twenty-two zones that are numbered sequentially in a spiral pattern beginning with Zone 1 — the most central and oldest zone in the city. In general, the city is laid out in a grid pattern, with avenues running roughly north to south, and streets running east to west (Trujillo, 2012). It remains one of the fastest-growing cities in Central America and this expansion over the last five decades, combined with political instability, has meant there are strains on the "existing bureaucratic and physical infrastructure" (Levenson, 1998, p. 46). It is claimed that "chronic traffic congestion, shortages of safe potable water in some areas of the city, and a sudden and prolonged surge in crime have become perennial problems" (Levenson, 1998, p. 47). It has also endured natural disasters such as a tropical cylcone and a volcano erupting in 2010 (Little & Smith, 2009).

The ethnographic field study was centred on Zone 3 of Guatemala City. This zone houses the main garbage dump (Basurero) which also lays claim to being the largest in Central America, with about 500 tons of rubbish being dumped there each day (Trujillo, 2012). The dump is situated in a ravine that occupies forty acres of public land which is accessible to all. The margins of the landfill are heavily populated because it is permissible to erect temporary accommodation structures bordering the landfill and indeed the area is formally considered a municipality by the city (Little & Smith, 2009). It is difficult to obtain accurate figures on the number of people residing in the location (either permanently or temporarily) but the estimates are that up to 30,000 squatters inhabit the perimeter of the dump (Trujillo, 2012). Other estimates suggests that 11,000 people live and work in and around the dump and rely on it as a source of income (Trujillo, 2012), or that approximately 4,000 men, women, and children from the squatting communities scavenge in the dump for personal items, including that which

can be used for housing or as food, as well as items that can be sold on the open market (Little & Smith, 2009).

The pit is surrounded on all sides by rock and dirt cliffs, extending straight up and enclosing the workers. The smell is putrid and overpowering, so it adheres to clothing, hair and skin. The garbage has been degrading for many years and is the main reason for the methane odour. The waste has not been separated from the recyclable items so the workers need to search through this mixture of garbage for anything of value. On one end there is a gate allowing in only dump trucks (Conversations with key informants, 2016). The people and trucks move carefully over piles of rubbish and men, women and children follow the trucks to get valuable things to use or sell. These workers are called “guajeros”, a word that has no direct English translation and no literal meaning in Spanish, but it designates that they are “scavengers”. They are looking for plastic, aluminium, food and cardboard, and anything else they can sell to recycling companies based in the area. For a full bag of plastic, they can make 20 Quetzales (AUS$4), for aluminium and cardboard they get 5 Quetzales per pound or less than half a kilogram (AUS$1). On average, a full day of work can yield a maximum of around 100 Quetzales, or AUS$20 dollars, for an individual worker (Trujillo, 2012).

Zone 3 is considered as a “red zone” because of the high crime rates and the lack of presence of the police (Trujillo, 2012; Salazar, 2015). Besides the *guajeros*, there are organised groups called *maras* or gangs that exercise power and a form of governance in the area. Some people working in the dump drift into gang membership (Notes recorded in reflective journal, 2016). They extort the other workers and ask for half of their daily earnings, according to key informants. The *maras* also reportedly recruit unattended children to engage in extortion and involve them in other illegal activities such as drug trafficking, smuggling, theft, child abuse and reputedly murders. Additionally, there is a subculture of people in the dump area who use their own slang so that others cannot understand their communication in their community.

These people normally belong to gangs or crime groups and rely on the slang in order to have a secret and unique means of communication between them and so that outsiders, especially those in formal surveillance roles such as the police, cannot understand their operations and interactions.

Zone 3 was selected as the research site because it is a low socioeconomic region, where people tend to have been involved in the justice system and is therefore likely to have a higher proportion of those with delinquent backgrounds. In 2017 for example, 33 deaths were reported in the first ten months around the area according to the main local newspaper (Periodico, 2017). It was also selected because it is part of central Guatemala City and is therefore close to the metropolis and offered ease of access. In addition, Zone 3 was deemed to be convenient and relatively safe, despite its high crime rate and the presence of gangs, because there are more than ten not-for-profit organisations operating there engaged in education, eradication of child labour, providing basic needs such as water, and offering employment services. This abundance of charities afforded the opportunity to approach gatekeepers to this fieldwork location, including well-known and well-respected non-government agencies such as the Safe Passage Organisation which provides elementary school education; the International Programme to Eradicate Child Labor (IPEC); and Potter's House (the latter which became fieldwork site).

Potter's House or Casa del Alfarero is an American-based not-for-profit organisation that engages in charitable and outreach work around the world, including having operations in Australia (Potter-House, 2017). It has been present in Zone 3 for more than twenty-nine years (Potter-Haus, 2017) and has a main building that is located near the garbage dump. They have been helping to develop the community and serving at-risk children and youth across Guatemala, but with an emphasis on those involved in scavenging at the rubbish dump (Potter-House, 2017). A proportion of their staff even come from the dump area where they were educated themselves at Potter's House, and who now work for the organisation. They currently

have five major programmes being offered under “Nuestro Trabajo, Programas 2017” (Our Work, Programs of 2017, as per their online website):

1. “Family Development: focus on reconnecting the family as a unit by helping children to learn how to love and support each other,
2. Education: teaching academic subjects after school and bible studies,
3. Health and Nutrition: providing medical attention and teaching disease prevention programs as well as giving nutritious meals every day during the week to all children who go to the Centre,
4. Micro-enterprise: providing financial resources and guidance to small business owners around the dump area; enable them to grow, increase their income and improve their lives and the lives of their families,
5. Community Development: promote community participation and collaboration in searching for solutions to their problems such as providing basic essentials to families in need”. Additionally, they train community leaders to develop their community.

Given their involvement in the Zone 3 community over three decades, Potter’s House was approached to assist with the current research project (Potter-House, 2017). The staff were contacted via email and were willing to play the role of gatekeeper and help in publicising the research and assisting in the recruitment procedures for potential volunteers to take part in the face-to-face interviews. It is clear from fieldwork observations that the Potter’s House staff members are familiar with the local community but it also became apparent that the local community members were also familiar with the centre as there was movement of people regularly into the Potter’s House building. It is important to re-emphasise that most of the staff at Potter’s House come from the dump area, were educated at Potter’s House and now they work for them.

Photograph 1: Women and family members from Zone 3 at a Potter's House church service (source: www.alfarero.org.gt).

Photograph 2: Women working on the Zone 3 (Basurero) dump collecting usable or saleable items (source: www.luzheterogenea.org).

Photograph 3: Main access drive into the Zone 3 community and dump areas (source: Author, 2017).

Photograph 4: Street immediately outside Potter's House centre (source: Author, 2017).

RECRUITMENT AND INTERVIEW PROCEDURES

Potter's House often holds gatherings and classes such as recreational and educational activities for both children and women at the centre whose objectives are to unite the family (Conversations with key informants, 2016). Thus Potter's House served as a useful conduit in this study because it is a site that the women and their families attend regularly and where they appear to feel comfortable. Their staff facilitated a social event, hosted by the researcher, for the women and children who use the services of Potter's House. Sandwiches, fruit and natural beverages were offered and the volunteers sat at long tables while details of the research project were explained in Spanish. Participants were also asked to pass the word to other women who may be interested in participating in the study. In addition, word of mouth advertising took place at the centre and via its staff to the children and adolescents who attended sessions there so that the message could filter back to their families and community. Thus, the recruitment involved a snowball technique.

Once individual women expressed interest in voluntarily participating in the research, they were contacted by a Potter's House staff member who made arrangements for the time and day of the interview. This was the agreed procedure for safety reasons and in order to ensure confidentiality for the interviewees. Participants who met the inclusion criteria were then asked for email contact information, if they had one, in order to send them relevant information (e.g., consent form and explanatory statement) prior to commencement of a recorded interview. For those who had no access to an email account, the researcher informed them orally about the consent form and explanatory statement prior to the interview. Each interview was private and individual, and took place in an open salon within the centre that was large enough to have a Potter's House staff member present without hearing the interview and intimate enough to have a one-to-one conversation without the participant feeling intimidated.

Once each participant read through the information provided and signed each form, the researcher turned on the digital recorder and commenced the interview, with a vignette used as an "icebreaker". This vignette was used if a participant seemed reticent in any way and needed to have a sense of reassurance. The researcher started to discuss the case of a young girl called "Devil" (see Chapter I) and how she ended up belonging to a *mara* or gang in Central America. "Devil" had a drunken stepfather who abused her constantly and her mother was absent from home, so she roamed the streets until eventually she met peers in her neighbourhood and then she was recruited by her local gang as a way to survive. She fell pregnant when she was underage and the family roamed the streets like she did when she was younger. After telling the story, the researcher asked the participant what her thoughts were about it and thereafter commenced the formal interview.

Notes and observations were taken down by the researcher such as the interview environment, participant behaviours and researcher thoughts during the interview to supplement the field recorded interview. Each participant was asked to recount her experiences and thoughts about the semi-structured interview guide in order to obtain information about the research questions addressed at the intergenerational linkages in female delinquency.

The duration of each interview ranged between 60 and 90 minutes. Each participant was given the opportunity to describe her experience during the interview, expressing emotional reactions and thoughts about the interview questions. The researcher provided each participant a blanket for their comfort during the interview and if required, the contact information of the local priest if any discomfort or any signs of distress were present as a result of the research. A majority of the Guatemalan population is Catholic and therefore Catholic priests are active in the community to help and support the population. They are thus viewed as figures of trust and are regularly employed to provide counselling and support. Potter's House did not have any formally-trained counsellors working permanently at their centre (such

as social workers or psychologists) and there are no other publicly provided support services available in this poor area. Therefore, it was deemed appropriate to refer the participants to their local parish priests, of which there was more than one operating at the time of the fieldwork, when required. In the end it was not necessary to recommend that any women interviewed consult the priest since they did not show any major distress during the interviews but it was offered as a precautionary measure if the situation required.

DATA ANALYSIS

There are three elements to the analysis of these data that align with the main methods adopted in the study, namely: an ethnographic field study; observations; and qualitative interviews. With respect to the ethnography undertaken, this was supported by searches of official government documents such as national police statistics and any material emanating from quasi-official reports such as those published by NGOs and local newspapers. These were analysed in an ad-hoc fashion, extracting whatever information appeared relevant to describing crime problems in Guatemala, matters relating to the capital city and specifically anything about Zone 3 and its inhabitants, and any criminological materials that were publicly available. The observational phase of the study, centred on physical aspects of the environment in Zone 3, and notations about the emotional and behavioural characteristics of the women who resided there.

When each interview started, the respondents were friendly and open about their day, how difficult or easy it was to travel to the interview location, about the work of the day and other introductory interactions that the researcher used in order to make them feel relaxed and in a friendly environment. During the interview the women expressed some emotions at times when they were talking about their traumatic past experiences, especially when they were talking about their childhood and the challenges they were facing through that stage. There

were occasions when some of the women displayed tears when they remembered their family, especially their mothers. Even though their answers were very direct and to the point, they reported that they felt nervous talking about themselves and their pasts. This was particularly because of the language barrier of the local Spanish slang they used and the lack of education they felt they had which they deemed to be obstacles for them to communicate properly. However, the women seemed keen to participate, because according to a trustworthy source, nobody had shown interest about their past or what happened to them, not even their partners, and they were grateful that somebody wanted to hear their stories. Importantly, it was claimed by most of the interviewees that nobody knew about their life experiences until this moment of the interviews.

The qualitative data were thematically analysed by coding concepts that related to the main variable of this research: intergenerational linkages. The thematic analysis also drew on the framework offered by the General Strain Theory, as developed by Robert Agnew and evolving from Robert Merton's theory of anomic strain to address the secondary aspects of this research by coding themes around former female offending, strain and anomie (Agnew, 2006). General Strain Theory informed the construction of the questions that comprise the semi-structured interview guide. The strains such as parental rejection, supervision/discipline, child abuse, school experiences, peer relations, and work in the secondary labour market, unemployment, marital problems, discrimination, criminal victimisation and residence in economically deprived guided the interviews and observations (Agnew, 2006).

There were four main areas of analysis to emerge from the manual coding of the qualitative interviews and these are outlined in the following list:

1. **Family Structure and Identity** – this theme centres on family volatility which involves multiple partners and stepfathers and an overall sense of fluidity of interpersonal relationships. The relationships within families are often characterised by conflict and a lack

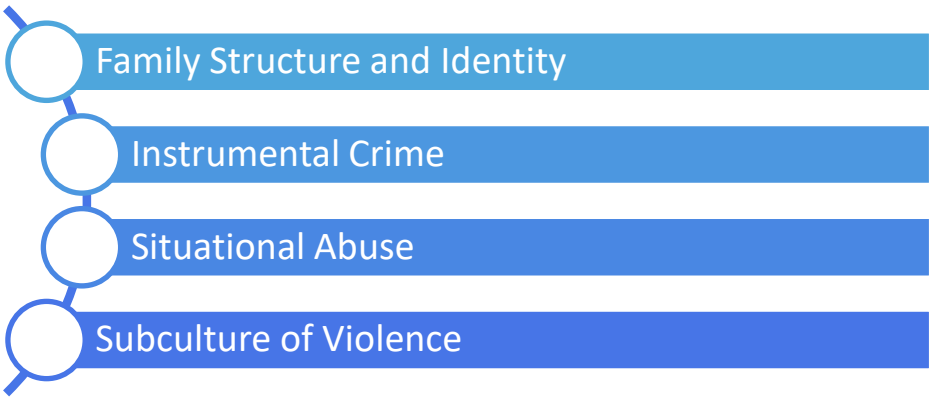
of identification or sometimes even knowledge about family members despite a culture of close-knit family structures.

2. **Instrumental Crime** – this theme is about the women engaging in crimes committed for reasons of poverty or to obtain things. The women characterised their offending as being either economically-driven or motivated because they are part of the gang structures and loyalty was required of them to demonstrate their group affiliation.

3. **Situational Abuse** – this theme refers to specific situations that may have a proximal effect on the likelihood of offending, in this case specific types of abuse: emotional, physical, sexual, and demonstrates the overlap between offending and victimisation of the women.

4. **Subculture of Violence** – this theme is about a taken-for-grant worldview where violence is accepted. The women made references to substance abuse and the use of weapons and reported many deaths of family members where the causes and circumstances remain unknown.

Figure 6: Main coding themes guided by Agnew's General Strain Theory and the primary coding of the interview transcripts.



As part of the process of analysing the qualitative data from the research interviews, it was first confirmed that there appeared to be consistencies and similarities in the narratives of the women. One outcome of this observation was that this meant that the upper limit on the number of interviews was endorsed. There was considerable concordance in the background

experiences of the women, in their life stories and current circumstances, and in their family structures and in the ways they interacted with their communities. The semi-structured open-ended interview instrument was developed based on an extensive review of empirical literature and general cultural knowledge such as the traditions and culture of Guatemalan people.

As a result of this above observation, and in order to make initial sense of the data, the first major step of analysis was to construct a composite case study as it was deemed to be helpful to aggregate common experiences and shared backgrounds. This amalgam also assists in preserving the anonymity of the individual women who participated in the research. The main coding themes (see Figure 6) were used as a guideline to extract the elements for this composite case, namely: family structure and identity, instrumental crimes, situational abuse, and the subculture of violence.

The General Strain theory was particularly useful to interrogate the pathological phenomenon of social disorganisation as it takes environmental factors into account and is especially apposite where individuals are marginalised from society (Agnew, 2006). This theory gave a framework to understand and guide the main research questions, especially since it is one of the few criminological theories to have been constructed with females in mind. Its principles contribute to the main coding categories and concepts addressed in this study.

The first phase of the analysis assisted in isolating the broad themes to emerge from the data (see Figure 6). The subsequent detailed qualitative analysis yielded further post-hoc codes. For example, under the theme of Family Structure and Identity were issues such as fluid family structures, abandonment, push and pull factors, and absconding. In the Instrumental Crime category, there was a divergence between two main sub-themes relating to poverty, property offending or what might be called subsistence crime, versus any deviance and criminal offending that was gang-related. Two main factors were therefore isolated and labelled as Instrumental Crime and Gang Involvement. Community Influence was referring to peer

influence around the community. Under the broad category of Situational Abuse came a range of narratives referring to physical, emotional and sexual issues related either to their families or relationships or within a gang scenario. The general label of Subculture of Violence, being somewhat derivative of Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), is nevertheless aligned with Agnew's General Strain Theory, because it is about the influence of societal and environmental factors in the lives of these women and at the individual level rendered itself in substance abuse, weapons use and recounting of high instances of morbidity and mortality.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As this field study involved human participants, the researcher sought and gained approval from the Bond University Human Research Ethics Committee (BUHREC). The guidelines include the requirement to provide informed consent to participants prior to beginning the research about the purpose of the study, the participants' right to decline participation in the study or withdraw at any time, and confidentiality. In order to ensure the confidentiality of the participants, all names and personal information were not recorded in any device. However, a variety of American-style nicknames were selected and allocated to the interviewees and it is those names that appear here in the text. Additionally, all the information was stored in a secure location at Bond University through One Drive and H Drive. Additionally, a full copy of these data are stored on a USB, encrypted with a password through Bitlocker Drive, and provided to the supervisor, who will ensure their safekeeping for five years. Participants were asked to sign an informed consent document to digitally record the interview prior to its commencement. Participants were informed of the potential for mild or moderate discomfort associated with participation in this research, given that they may experience distress in discussing their past experiences. The contact information of the local priest was available, as he had offered to provide counselling and support.

Other ethical considerations were taken into account in designing the research overall and in addressing practical problems that arose onsite. These included the need to ensure safety for both the researcher and the participants in the study. As noted above, this is one reason that Potter's House – a respected NGO with a long-term involvement in the local Zone 3 community – was selected as the gatekeeper. There were day-to-day issues regarding the translations of the interviews and the need for interpreter assistance, given that many of the women spoke a local dialect and frequently used jargon that was not within the lexicon of the Spanish-speaking researcher. The other issue that arose was in quarantining the contact details of the interviewees but balancing this with ensuring that no power-dependency problems were evident given that it was Potter's House staff who made direct contact with the women who expressed interest in voluntarily being involved in the research. While this was not a fully satisfactory procedure, it was deemed to be the only option available because this non-government agency kept a database of contacts for the local women. There was no evident advantage in Potter's House staff being involved in the recruitment process in this tangential way, and thus it is the opinion of the researcher that there was no coercion or exercise of power-dependency.

One ethical consideration was the level of effectiveness to inform the participants about the nature of the study, since literacy levels of Zone 3 are undocumented. There are no official statistics but anecdotal information from Potter's House does underscore the fact that many older people are fully or functionally illiterate. Therefore, the initial recruitment phase by Potter's House staff and the later follow-up contact by the student-researcher relied on verbal communication in Spanish. It was anticipated that potential poor health, low education and possible substance use in the community could impact on the interviews. In order to mitigate this issue, the student-researcher made an assessment if any volunteer participant were deleteriously affected and would politely terminate the interview if necessary and remove it from the dataset. It was found that some participants appeared to exhibit some concerns and

for those cases the student-researcher sought clarification from Potter's House staff and then returned to ask the interviewee how they felt, and then there was a procedure to go through the consent process a second time verbally.

It should be emphasised that the aim of this research was not to seek detailed nor explicit information about individual crime events but rather about their impacts. Further, the questions asked of participants relating to former offending when they were adolescents were nevertheless from the perspective of the adult females being interviewed. Therefore, the material elicited about criminal offending was most likely to be past events. Consequently, there was no professional obligation in the criminology discipline, nor given the researcher's professional ethics, to report such offending to any authorities.

Another challenge was to conduct the field studies overseas. According to Chapter 4.8 of The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (https://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/chapter-4-8-people-other-countries) there is a series of considerations on researchers from Australian institutions proposing to conduct research in another country. This topic is particularly challenging because there is no legislation which states specifically any obligations imposed by Guatemalan authorities. After an exhaustive search of all legislations, copyrights, National Statements and the Guatemalan Constitution, the only ethics committee that exists in Guatemala is for medical health research which does not apply in this instance. For this reason, The Australian National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human research was the main guideline for this research.

CONCLUSION

This chapter presented a broad sketch of this exploratory qualitative research on women living in the dump area of Guatemala City. A phenomenological approach was specifically useful to identify how participants perceive their own situations and to gather data about personal experiences of delinquent acts and their effects. This qualitative cross-sectional study involved three aspects that ran in parallel throughout the fieldwork period: an ethnographic field study of an impoverished community in Zone 3 in Guatemala City, observations of the site, and interviews with ten adult females who have previously been involved in some kind of criminal or delinquent activities. The recruitment process used purposive sampling of the women with three broad guiding criteria: over eighteen years of age; those who had current responsibilities for families/descendants/dependants; and who had been involved in or experienced some kind of delinquency in their younger lives.

Given the exploratory nature of this research, in the absence of any previous study capturing these kinds of data, the research questions are posed as a general aim to explore intergenerational linkages for females who had been involved in youthful offending in Guatemala. The qualitative data were thematically analysed by coding the interview transcriptions supported by the observations and notations from the researcher's journal. The thematic analysis draws on the framework offered by the General Strain Theory, as developed by Robert Agnew, and guided the construction of the questions that comprised the open-ended semi-structured interview guide. There were four main areas of analysis to emerge from the manual coding: family structure and identity, instrumental crime, situational abuse and subculture of violence.

The chapter has endeavoured to outline the research design of the present project and present a rationale for the exploration of this topic. It describes the set of specific methodologies adopted: ethnographic fieldwork, observations and interviews, and describes each of those

tools of data collection. The analytic components of the study are outlined, such as the thematic analysis used on the notations, observations and transcriptions of the interview materials. The initial round of thematic coding is explained and the main four themes are introduced here, before moving to Chapter V which delivers in detail the results of this study.

CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

As has been outlined in the research design and methodology chapter (Chapter III), one of the main aims of the current study was to explore the intergenerational effects of being involved in crime and delinquency, especially for women in the context of severe social disadvantage in Guatemala. This meant that the qualitative interviews were seeking to elicit narratives that might address problems experienced by the women in their families of origin as well as issues for their children. So, in addition, to reflecting on their own lives, they were encouraged to consider the experiences of family members; from their parents and siblings through to the next generation of their own offspring.

This chapter first presents findings drawn from the general fieldwork observations, which are derived from the informal discussions with key informants at the host site in Guatemala City, as well as from personal notes recorded by the candidate in a daily research journal. This first section is designed to provide background about the interviewees and to give a context to the interview sessions. The next section in this chapter reflects the first round of analysis on the qualitative data extracted from the interviews. This involved primary-cycle coding of the translated transcriptions in an open-ended manner to summarise and capture the essence of the narratives (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This post-hoc primary-cycle coding process sought to uncover "what" was present in the data (Tracy, 2013). The themes to emerge were relegated to four overarching categories: family structure and identity, instrumental crime, situational abuse, and subculture of violence. Each of these themes is described under separate headings to form the major component of this chapter, and incorporates the liberal use of direct quotes from the interview participants. Further elaboration of these primary themes continues

in the following chapter (Chapter V) where they contribute to a discussion about the intergenerational linkages of female juvenile delinquency in Guatemala.

FIELD OBSERVATIONS

As described in the previous chapter, field notes, personal observations and informal discussions with key informants were particularly useful to provide context to the formal semi-structured interviews with the female participants. The description of the fieldwork setting, namely the Potter's House charitable agency, is rendered in the previous chapter, along with some visual images of the centre and the surrounding neighbourhood comprising Zone 3. In this section here, the goal is to describe the interviewees and the interview sessions, with some attention to unexpected observations. At the outset, it is imperative to make clear that the women appeared to look comfortable around Potter's House and its staff. This was evidenced from the fact that they have known them for many years, most of the staff come from the dump area and they were educated themselves at Potter's House, and now they work for the organisation.

In general, the participants personally presented as very well-groomed, which at first appeared incongruous given that they were domiciled on a massive garbage dump. They tended to wear jeans and blouses or long dresses, and all of their apparel was in good condition and well-laundered. Most of the women displayed other markers that potentially signify good grooming, from the wearing of make-up, and jewellery such as rings and earrings, to appearing to have had their nails recently manicured. They all carried mobile phones with them and were wearing expensive branded sneakers. According to a key informant, carrying a cell phone and having new sneakers constitute signs of status in the Zone 3 community, so the women are known to work very hard in order to buy the latest version cell phones and brand-name footwear. Informal field discussions suggested that such status symbols were possibly

reflective of American gang cultures, and potentially related to the phenomenon of "deportees" (see review of the literature in Chapter II). In the same vein, all the participants preferred to be known by American-style names such as Jennifer, Natalie, or Brenda, for example, and introduced themselves as such at the interviews. This may be part of a broader socio-cultural change, influenced by television or the gang influence of the "deportees" but it remains unusual, even in the 21st Century, for the women not to have more traditional Latin names such as Maria.

The women generally communicated in a form of Spanish slang that was difficult to understand and to translate for a traditional speaker of Spanish. The slang constitutes a form of encryption that affords some protection from local authorities, especially law enforcement, according to more than one key informant. It is a creative means of communication that adopts and fuses new words and sentences that are not part of the official Spanish lexicon. Indeed, many words are novel renditions that have no direct translation into Spanish. It was suggested in the informal conversations that this language was created by local gangs in the community and has been transmitted through several generations to achieve the status of a lingua franca in the local area. For example, "*Lo que me contaron me hizo ponerme a pensar que debía estar pilas y ser más buza cada día*" means literally in English: "What I was told made me think that I should be more batteries and be more a diver every day". When queried at the interview, the participant explained that what she was trying to say in that sentence, contextually, was that she had a deep thought about herself needing to be more alert and smarter about her current situation in the gang. This use of slang did create an additional level of difficulty in translating the interview material, but it was not impossible. This slang provides a unique means of communication between community members so that outsiders, especially those in formal surveillance roles such as the police, cannot understand their operations and interactions.

When each interview commenced, the respondents appeared friendly and open, they discussed how difficult or easy it was to come to the interview, talked about their work and their day, and generally responded freely to other ice-breaker questions. There were many points during the interviews, however, when emotions were highly-charged especially when the women were talking about their traumatic past experiences, their childhoods and the challenges they were facing in the present. The women tended to be tearful when they remembered their family, especially their mothers, however they did recover and expressed their desire to continue with the interview. At times their responses were very phlegmatic, and when asked about this, they said that they were nervous talking about themselves, and were especially mindful of their lack of education and their use of the local Spanish slang that could be a barrier for them to communicate well. As noted in the previous chapter, from the informal conversations at the centre it was implied that the participants found the interview process to be a positive experience; they felt important because nobody had shown interest in them in the past, and they were grateful that somebody wanted to hear their stories.

In progressing through the interview sessions, it did become apparent that even though the women were seemingly very open in the telling of their own stories and those of their parents' generations, there was a definite hesitancy in discussing their offspring. The women were very protective and guarded with respect to their children, in particular when raising faults, flaws or deficits. They were willing to offer general observations and were forthcoming with positive appraisals, but when the conversations drifted into more problematic behaviours such as carrying and selling drugs, stealing, prostitution, or gang involvement, the women were, not unnaturally, less loquacious. Staff at the centre characterised them as being fiercely protective of their children, but they also appropriately noted that these women were apprehensive in case their children might come to the attention of the authorities (see Chapter V for further discussion on the intergenerational effects).

PRIMARY THEMATIC CODING

While the methodological processes are more fully described in Chapter III, it bears repeating that there was a wealth of qualitative data to emerge from the interviews. The recordings were listened to as soon as possible after the conclusion of each interview and basic transcriptions created in Spanish. As noted above, because of the use of a local slang or creole by the women, it was important to have an opportunity to clarify any unknown terms or words used in an unusual manner while in the field and this was done in collaboration with key informants. The Spanish transcriptions were then carefully translated into English and further editing and reviewing was undertaken. Each interview transcript was printed and a coding system devised to highlight material that was common across all the ten interviews to extract the main themes. This post-hoc analysis yielded the four main thematic areas: family structure and identity, instrumental crime, situational abuse and subculture of violence, and each of these, along with their sub-themes are canvassed in the following sections.

1. Family Structure and Identity

There were a number of family structure themes contained within the data. Some of the sub-themes reflected a volatility within families represented by having multiple partners and the presence of stepfathers. Thus, there were absent fathers, blended families, and high mobility which meant that the lines of authority were confused and changed from partner to partner. The relationships often were depicted as chaotic at worst or fluid at best, and there was a sense that these contributed to attachment issues. There was evidence of constant conflict within families across all generations, especially between step-parents and children. As a consequence, complications developed such as absconding, abandonment by one or both parents, and being pushed or pulled out of home. The interviewees proffered a range reasons for them or others (parents, siblings, children) leaving home. While there was importance placed on strong family

ties, the reality was that the women described volatile family structures, with chaotic relationships and a lack of family connection.

Absconding

One emergent sub-theme was absconding. The interviewees talked about leaving home and some of them explained that their parents or previous generations had also left, and now their children were leaving home too. Thus, this was one of the factors to emerge that was evident across all generations and therefore underscored the intergenerational effect. The women recalled how "my mum left", and in some case this was voluntary where one woman said that when she was only thirteen years of age "my mother left us and moved in with a new partner". For others, the leaving was wholly involuntary where there was law enforcement intervention that left the entire family without a maternal figure, for according to one interviewee, when she was twelve, "the police came to our house and without notice they took my mother away".

This scenario was replicated in the interviewees' generation, where the participants ran away from home when they were little girls for a variety of reasons. For example, Susi left home when she was only nine years old because her stepfather abused her physically and she could not cope with it anymore. She recounted that she "ran away from that horrible place and left my brothers and sisters in that hell". She subsequently absconded from an orphanage and lived on the streets when she was eleven years old: "I ran away from the orphanage for a year. I was homeless just asking for money in the streets until a person found me and took me to another orphanage. I stayed there for five years." They also reported that this was a common occurrence for their siblings, and importantly, that once they left there was rarely any contact with the family again. One woman said: "my brothers ran away from home and I still don't know where they are now or even if they are still alive".

This theme also arose for the third generation who similarly ran away from their families; thus, the interviewees talked about absconding by parents, by themselves and their siblings, and subsequently by their own children. Natalie, originally from El Salvador, left her home country in order to have what she thought would be a "better life" and never contacted her parents again. She had a son born in Guatemala and he left home as well, and she does not know where he is because she has never heard from him again: "I don't know where my first son is now. I never heard about him since he ran away from home. I never heard about my parents anymore and I never wanted to go back to them anymore." Another woman said that "shortly after my daughter ran away, my son did the same thing, and I don't know where he is now". This was echoed in the life story of another: "I remember that my first two children were ten and eleven years old when they left". In some instances, it was an entire sibling cohort who had severed their ties and who never made contact again: "my five children ran away from home and I don't know where they are".

As alluded to, the reasons for leaving were many and varied, although often violence or family conflict was at the core of the "push" factors. In one case the participant said that "after he hit me with a tool and I fell unconscious, I decided to run away with my children and I went to rent a small room". Similarly, Stephanie said that she ran away from her partner when she found out that she was pregnant with her third child to avoid further violence towards her and to protect the unborn child from his violent behaviour: "I got pregnant. When I realised that I was pregnant I left him". In another case, the woman was kicked out of her own house that she had with her partner because she fell pregnant again. Her partner did not want to have more children and questioned the paternity of the unborn child: "I was pregnant again from my second child and he didn't believe that it was his, so he kicked me out from our place". There were instances where conflict within the family meant that leaving the home became a repeated pattern. For Jazmin, her mother "kicked" her out of home because she felt jealous that her

partner was flirting with her and she "went to my aunty to live with her". Later on, when she did not have enough money to buy her food, she said: "my aunt sent me to an orphanage where I stayed until I was fifteen".

Other reasons for absconding though could be classified as "pull" factors. There were several cases where participants conceded that they left voluntarily. One admitted that she "had a lot of boyfriends at the same time, a couple in each nightclub" where she "used to go with friends to dance and drink". She said: "I met my second partner while I was still pregnant. I was unfaithful to him several times. I returned back to nightclubs and met several men. I left my children to my partner while I was partying. He was the one who stayed at home and took care of them." Another participant recounted how she was seeking to improve her life at the garbage dump and said: "so I left my last partner and I thought 'he looks okay, with good feelings … perhaps he can help me to rebuild the business that my mother had in the past', and he did. At the beginning, he was very helpful and loving with my child. I fell pregnant and had my second child, a boy. Now I have my new boy of one year old and the eldest is now four years old. They get along well and the eldest helps me to take care the youngest." The "pull" factors recounted by participants were also related to gang activities. There was the case of Veronica who went to prison for drug trafficking, and the government took away her children while she was completing her sentence, and so they were raised by her mother.

Abandonment

The interview transcripts were replete with examples of absent fathers that appeared to be experienced across all generations. The women spoke about the lack of all knowledge, or little knowledge, about their fathers, such as: "I never met my father. I was raised only by my mother" or "my biological father disappeared when I was only a girl. I cannot remember him anymore." Sometimes the fathers left willingly and for a variety of reasons but these usually

could not be articulated by the interviewees because of the sheer lack of information about their paternal figures. In other cases it was that their mothers left their biological fathers so they could take a new partner, “my mum left him and met her new partner shortly after at work”. An important sub-element here is not just about the leaving home and being absent but it is the lack of knowledge of the whereabouts of those who have departed whether parents, siblings or children – they seem to have vanished which compounds their absence into feelings of abandonment which has the potential to impact on identity-formation.

Related to this aspect is a lack of bonding, attachment or connection within their families. Many women did not know where their parents, siblings or children were. They did not have any communication between them. One said: “my five children ran away from home and I don’t know where they are”; and another claimed: “I don’t know where my first son is now. I never heard about him since he ran away from home”. In another case, the first child ran away from home and the next sibling imitated him and ran away too: “shortly after my daughter ran away, my son did the same thing and I don’t know where he is now”. Sometimes this lack of bonding was among siblings: “my brothers ran away from home and I still don’t know where they are now”.

Fluidity and Volatility

The women reported a great deal of volatility in their family structures. Their parents, more specifically their mothers, had multiple partners creating a fluid family structure and the participants suggest that this was replicated in their own families. One said: “my mum had several partners and I think that because she worked in the recycling area of the dump, she could have met a lot of men working there”. Another described her situation: “we are five siblings from my mother’s side. The oldest is a boy and only him and I are from the same father and mother. The rest of my siblings are from different fathers. And what is really clear for me

is that I met three different partners of my mother besides my biological father. They lived with us at different stages of my life."

Similarly, Andrea said she was one of seven siblings of different fathers that she knew of: "I was the third one, and the rest of us were boys. My mother had two children with her first husband, another two with another person and three more with her last partner". Later in life she said: "I contacted my mother again" and "found out that she had more children from other partners that her mother had 'off the record'". It was a repeated pattern in her own family as Andrea met several partners as well and had children with them: "I have four children from different fathers, and I met my last partner recently and had my last child with him".

2. Instrumental Crime

This sub-theme is linked to poverty and the strains of living at the dump. Given that many of the women were abandoned, in one form or another, as children they often needed to find jobs in early stages of their lives for them to survive, because as one recalled: "when my mother left, we needed to find jobs to have money to buy food". It also relates to the fluidity of family relationships as marriages or partnerships frequently broke down and would wreak an immediate economic impact on the home environment.

Financial Purposes

The participants reported that they struggled in different stages of their lives to survive. Eating is a basic and fundamental requirement and some of the women did not have the economic means to buy food and found that stealing was a way to provide for their families. One claimed: "if by the end of the week I didn't have enough money to buy food for my family, I usually stole money from an old man, who had a tiny shop right next to mine in the market". Sometimes

adverse weather prevented them from working because the dump area flooded quite readily and if they were unable to work that day, they had no money to buy food. Therefore, stealing was a survival mechanism. One observed: “when it is the rainy season, I avoid going to the dump to pick up the things that I usually sell in the market, so at the end of the week I don’t have enough money to cover our basic needs for the family. For those days, I usually stole money.” For one participant, her son was incarcerated because he was caught stealing clothes in the market, that he could resell to other stores and have money to contribute to the household, and said: “my son has been already in gaol, even though he is only sixteen years old. He was charged with stealing.”

Some of the women received direct or indirect financial support from gangs. Direct support included being involved directly in the gangs to earn money where one acknowledged: “I was a full-time gang member. At the beginning we liked to steal and bribe people around the neighbourhood. They gave us a lot of money.” Another said: “a lot of people come to ask me to revenge somebody in exchange for money”. The indirect support comes in terms of receiving economic assistance from a relative who was involved in the gangs. One recalled: “I received financial help from my little brother, who is now the boss of a very dangerous gang called Salvatrucha”.

The participants expressed dismay for how their children were replicating criminal behaviour learned from them, especially their daughters. One stated: “I really regret that I became a prostitute when I was eleven years old. Now, my eldest daughter has become a prostitute as well. It all started when an old man who lived in the neighbourhood started to pay to be with her.” In one case the respondent was aware of the situation because a neighbour told her “meanwhile my daughter started to follow my steps and become a prostitute. I was told by the neighbours that she was working as a prostitute.” One participant recounted a harrowing narrative about a friend who came to Guatemala and returned to El Salvador and had expensive

clothes and money. She took her sister and both of them came to Guatemala and they were taken to a house and the younger sister started to cry because she had not realised that she was brought to Guatemala to engage in sex work.

Safety Reasons

It was reported as a common occurrence that women would join a gang because they were feeling unprotected, unbonded and alone within their families and their community. One said: "I tried to be more in the streets than at home and tried to make friends, so I met a group of friends who lived in my neighbourhood and every afternoon they gathered together. They understood me completely and I felt they were my real family. We all had different problems and many problems, and every time we gathered together it didn't matter they were my real brothers and sisters. We were very close. I remember they supported me in everything, they made me feel safe and not alone." Thus the gang structures offered a sense of belonging that belies the notion of abandonment raised in the previous section, but it also provided safety. A participant interviewee observed: "we used to dance, take drugs together and defend each other. The boss was a well-respected person in the community so I always felt safe within the group." Another said: "my gang was really awesome. They taught me how to be fearless and how to defend myself and live good."

Sometimes the gangs helped by providing food for them and that created a sense of bonding and gratitude. One woman reported that: "my brother told me that his team members were very nice to him and gave him protection and food when he needed it the most". Some of the women talked positively about the fact that gangs have a hierarchy and a structure of authority since they did not have that in their own homes: "back in the days there were some gangs but not like how they are now. I belonged to one of them who lived in my neighbourhood. Back in the days, the gangs really protected you from any harm and danger. I was fourteen

years old when I first joined. We had a hierarchy and we had a specific way to greet between us. The bosses were always a little bit older than the rest of the group, between seventeen and eighteen years old."

Gain Status

The participants who were involved in gangs talked with some sense of pride about doing violent acts in order to escalate the line of authority and gain status within their gangs. One reported: "when we had more experience in the gang, we started to do more serious stuff like kidnapping. I was the best so I was in charge of every kidnap. And during that period of time, I was initiated to be an assassin. So, if somebody did not pay the bribe, I was in charge of killing them. I remember that I was well respected in the group and in the streets." Another claimed: "I did things that not even the most macho man in the gang dares to do". Violet said: "when I was just seventeen years old, I was being accepted in the gang and they baptised me with my first murder. Today I am the boss of all assassins and people already know where they can find me if they want me to do some jobs." She has been incarcerated and looked on this as an opportunity to make underground contacts for her gang, stating: "I have been several times in the doll house [gaol] and from there it's much easier to make new contacts and work from there so I don't mind staying there for a while".

Participants also discussed involvement in the illicit drug economy. "Now, my children want to become drug lords, which is a good idea because it's a good business. This is the trend now, I think because there are so many TV soaps and it seems like a good idea." Leticia was a self-proclaimed contract killer. She was quite open and transparent in the interview setting in talking about her business model saying: "just to survive I kill people" and "if anyone needs anyone to be killed they contact me and the money then allows me to buy food and provide for myself and my family." She gave the impression that she was good at this occupation, had the

requisite skills and appeared to take a professional approach to it; so, she expressed some pride in "doing a good job" and certainly did not demonstrate any remorse that she was forced into this role but rather she had willingly taken it on.

Substance Abuse

As had been tangentially raised in the findings outlined earlier in this chapter, the interviewees often alluded to incidents that related to substance abuse. References to both licit and illicit substances such as alcohol (mainly beer) and drugs (usually marijuana) as well as the practice of glue sniffing were part of all the narratives for the participants, their parents, their siblings, and their adult children. Substance abuse was clearly linked to the frequency and prevalence of the situational abuses described below. For example, participants claimed: "every time my stepfather was drunk, he wanted to abuse us physically and sexually" or "my mother met my first stepfather, who liked to drink and hit her every time he could". This use of legal substances did not only relate to male members of the families for one interviewee recalled: "when I was thirteen years old, my mum left us and moved in with a new partner. When we were living with her she liked to drink alcohol and created domestic violence as well."

The women reported that their parent used drugs and alcohol and found themselves in similar circumstances. One said: "when I was fifteen years old, I met my first boyfriend. He was twenty years old and abused me as well and taught me to use drugs, specially glue sniffing. I loved it and got addicted to it." In another narrative the participant met her new partner around the dump area. He liked to drink alcohol and taught her to drink too and both were regular consumers, and as a consequence their relationship was physically abusive toward each other and towards their children. Another claimed: "my partner was a truck driver and liked to be drunk after work every day. He shared the beers with me and I started to like it as well. By the

time my partner became more violent, I started to drink more alcohol with him and from then, everything was worse."

Another recalled: "when the baby was born, my partner started to hit me and drink all kinds of alcohol. Because of his addiction, he stayed at home drinking, while I was looking for a job." Another recollected: "I met my new partner in a bar and he taught me to drink every day even when I was pregnant. I admit that I still have alcohol addiction but you know, all the mistreating I received, the beer was good for me and I started to like it very much. Later on, he taught me how to take marijuana and cocaine. Both were very nice. Together we were dynamite and to tell you the truth, the only thing that I'm certain is that alcohol and drugs were made for me, especially for all bad times that I went through and going through I don't notice anymore and it's easy to forget and feel calmer about it. It is a facilitator to live my life easier because I don't remember those moments."

The third generation, the children of the respondents, were affected as well. Even though, most of the women were protective and reluctant to talk about their children, some of them included their children experiences as part of their narratives. One said: "my children started to like alcohol as well and my youngest son started to smoke marijuana. He was only thirteen years old and he had marijuana at school and one of the teachers found out that he had it hidden inside of one of his pockets". Another noted: "one of my daughters still likes to drink. For her it has been hard to stop taking drugs, specially glue sniffing."

It was found that peers were another influence for taking drugs and alcohol. For some participants, drugs and alcohol were introduced by peers and gangs around their neighbourhood. One claimed: "those friends gave me synthetic drugs and beer for me to try. I loved it, specially diazepam, a drug that makes you feel relaxed, you don't smell like alcohol does and it doesn't give any hangover". Another woman remembered: "I started to make friends around the dump and they influenced me to try glue sniffing". An interviewee claimed:

"in my gang, they taught me how to use marijuana and cocaine. I like both of them." There is a story from one of the women who wanted to be a flight attendant but instead of following her dreams, she joined a gang. She said: "I wanted to keep studying and went to high school and met different friends. Those friends gave me pills and beers for me to try. I truly liked them."

Finally, the women talked about their community and how alcohol and drugs are a way to influence the youth. One observed: "I have seen in the community a lot of young people gather together to drink alcohol and take drugs, especially at night time". In the dump area there are several neighbourhoods where children and teenagers tend to congregate to consume drugs and alcohol. "I think where I live, there are a lot of drunk people around and most of them do drugs as well. I have seen a lot of teenagers gathered together like a gang to consume drugs together. I think friends have a lot of influence on the youth and children that start at early ages to consume drugs and alcohol." One expressed her concerns: "I regret the moment I made the decision to try beer for the first time and I just hope that my children don't follow my steps since I have seen people of their ages gather together to drink beers in my neighbourhood".

3. Situational Abuse

This theme of abuse underpinned all of the interviews with the women. It appeared to permeate not just their own lives, but those they related about their parents' generation and those of their own children, and thus underscores the major research question about the intergenerational effects. Clearly, there is no claim here of the abuse being causal and for this reason the label "situational" has been adopted, but it may be that such histories of ongoing abuse have a proximal effect on the likelihood of offending. The examples of abusive victimisation have been classified here under the headings of: physical, sexual and emotional.

Physical Abuse

The women reported suffering from physical abuse and had also witnessed physical abuse in their families. One said: "my mum's third partner hit her as well. He liked to drink beers and every time he was drunk he liked to strangle my mum. A neighbour rang the police the last time so she could leave him." One recalled how her mother used violence to defend herself from the domestic violence she was facing. She said: "my mother met my first stepfather who loved to drink and hit my mother. My mother was strong enough to hit him back." Alcohol appeared to be a trigger for the domestic abuse, and this occurred even when the mother was pregnant. One participant observed: "my mum and him [stepfather] liked to drink and she fell pregnant with my sister. He hit her the whole time, because he was very violent. I tried to hide every time this happened and I had my hidding place inside a barrel."

Women who endured physical abuse from a parent, suffered similar physical assaults at the hands of their partners, with alcohol being a common denominator for aggression. One woman claimed: "my father mistreated us physically and verbally … I think what I should do with the relationship that I have with my partner because he abuses me in every way possible. One time he hit me so hard with a piece of firewood and I went directly to the hospital." Another said: "I remember that my siblings were afraid of my mother and stepfather. I don't know why but they inspired fear, especially my mother. She was tough and used her strength towards us. … I met my first partner when I was fourteen years old and had my first child. My partner was good to me the first year of being together and after that he started to drink and used violence with me."

In other cases, participants went into an abusive relationship and then returned to their parents to receive more abuse. One recalled: "I was in love with him [partner] and I didn't want to go back to do the cleaning job so I went back to my mother's house where my stepfather physically abused me. He was a new partner of my mum's… . He hit me every time I returned

back from work and treated me as a prostitute." In one of the narratives the abuse started with her stepfather when he was drunk, to a later one when she had her first child with her partner because allegedly she gave more attention to the newborn rather than to her partner. He started to treat her violently and she then became depressed and stayed at home drinking and enduring physical abuse. She recollected: "every time my stepfather was drunk, he wanted to abuse me physically. … My partner started to hit me when my child was born and I started to drink and decided to stay at home, [but then] I needed to find a job so we could have money for food."

Another recounted how her father hit her and her siblings very hard and how they needed to hide from him by sleeping on the street. Later on in her life she lived with domestic violence in her home that was so severe that she had an abortion "when my father hit us, we hid from him by sleeping on the streets. …The most dramatic event that I lived with my partner was that I had my first abortion when he hit me one time and had a miscarriage". Thus, there was direct physical abuse in all of the narratives and across at least the previous and current generations.

Sexual Abuse

Several women were sexually abused as children by their stepfathers and brothers. One recalled: "something very bad happened to me when I was ten years old, when one of my brothers and my stepfather raped me and threatened that if I ever opened my mouth they could do something worse to me. So I didn't say anything and later on through the years I was just so used to it." Similarly, another remembered when she was a child, her stepfather sexually abused her and she told her mother and she turned angry towards her rather than her partner, claiming: "one time when I was eight years old, my stepfather raped me and my mother found out and blamed me instead of her partner". In other instances, when one parent engaged in substance abuse such as glue sniffing, the stepfather took advantage of it to sexually abuse the

participant: “it was then, that my mum left him and shortly after met another partner who she had a baby with. This last idiot abused me and my siblings [sexually] when my mum was high or drunk.” One woman suggested that: “since we all lived in a whole room together, we observed the intimacy between my mother and her new partner and because of that, one of my brothers wanted to abuse me because of what he observed in the room”.

Emotional Abuse

The respondents were emotionally abused when they were children such as having to undertake child labour and being responsible for the household. Those roles were imposed because there often were no parents to take care of the family. Their mothers were absent for a variety of circumstances such as working full time or had fully abandoned the family. One recalled: “my mother usually went out the whole day and left us kids in charge of the business, while my stepfather stayed at home sometimes with my youngest siblings”. Anne, shared her story about her mother being a drug dealer who encouraged her children to be part of it, serving all customers who wanted to buy drugs. They took charge of the family business when their mother went to prison and their stepfather used to do nothing but remain at home doing drugs with his friends. They not only took charge of their mother’s business but they had to do all the household duties as well. Anne said: “I hated my stepfather because while we were working hard in the business, he stayed at home and there were always mates of his in the house and all of them doing drugs. Me and my siblings hated them very much. My mum got released from gaol when I was about sixteen years old and I went back to work for her in her business.”

Some of the women expressed how difficult it was to assume a grown-up role “during that period of time was a tough time for me because I wanted to do girl or child things like my friends were doing and not playing the role of a mum with huge responsibilities like being constantly concerned about bringing food for the table and cleaning and cooking for my

family". Anne was similarly resentful of having to work at a young age, not only at her mother's business but at home as well by doing all the household duties like cleaning and cooking while her stepfather was resting on the couch. She said, "we were concerned about my mum's well-being in gaol and the new arrangements that we needed to do for the entire household. It was unfair because while they were resting, we were not only needed to work in her business but when we came back home, we needed to clean the house and cook dinner."

Similarly, another interviewee shouldered the maternal role when her mother abandoned them while the father did not do anything to help. "I assumed my mother's role of washing and cleaning the house, taking care of my brothers and father. My brothers started to work in the dump and I was in charge of selling all the things that they could find in the dump like metal, paper". In other cases, the father was demanding of his children to adopt an adult role in the household: "the weekends consisted of cleaning and cooking for the whole family. My father made me cook the same meal each weekend and it was a beef soup with rice, even though he never gave me money to buy the ingredients."

4. Subculture of Violence

The interviews often centred around incidents of violent family deaths, where the participants did not know the cause. They found out later when someone from their neighbourhood or a relative told them that their family member had been found dead. One recollected: "my father was killed when I was seven years old. I don't know what was the reason." Correspondingly Joanna shared her story when her first stepfather was killed and no one knew what happened, then all of her siblings except one disappeared and no one knew what had happened to them. Later on, she met her partner who was a drug dealer who was killed by someone that she does not know and when her daughter was still a baby, her only brother got shot and since they were

very close, it was the toughest time for her in her life. Many years later one of her neighbours was found dead and his family accused her for being responsible for his murder.

> The first partner of my mother was killed but we don't know what happened and some years later all my siblings but one were gone and till this day we don't know happened with them. They just disappeared. When I was fifteen years old I met my first partner who was a wholesaler drug-dealer and shortly after being together, he was killed. I don't know what happened or the reason or who killed him. We had one child and what is my luck that when she was only nine months old, my only brother left was killed and it was a very sad time for us in the family, because we loved him very much. Several years later one of my neighbours sexually abused one of my daughters [thirteen years old] and we recently found him dead. The neighbour's family accused me for killing him.

Some of the women displayed little sympathy about these deaths and even showed anger. One claimed: "the truth is that the neighbour recognised me and we started to talk and she told me that my eldest brother was dead, the one who abused me the most. His name was Juan. He was killed and I don't know the reason why and I thought that he deserved it." Overall, there was a lack of knowledge about the circumstances of these violent deaths. The only thing the women knew was that their family members were deceased but they did not know how, why or by whom. Of course, some barely remembered their siblings or parents, as was outlined above under the sub-theme of Family Structure and Identity. The lack of emotional linkage between relatives was evident within their families. One opined: "the real truth is that I cannot remember if my father knew about me at all. I never met him. He was dead. Then I tried to find my siblings and I was told that the eldest was found dead near the garbage dump but because

people who knew us couldn't contact me because they didn't know where I was, I was unaware of that news."

There was one narrative recounted where the participant's mother went to another town in Guatemala; she has never returned and her fate remained unknown for a long period of time. The woman said: "my mum went to a small town from the coastal part of Guatemala and no one knows about her. I didn't know if she was still alive or if she was still there or if she was dead. I never saw her again. I was ten years old when I heard that my mother was dead." Another interviewee left home when she was a little girl and had no further contact with her family members. She recalled: "I heard that two of my nephews were dead, but I don't know the reason. Just when I was in the orphanage somebody told me that one of my brothers was dead and didn't know why. I truly don't know where my rest of my brothers and sisters are or if they are still alive, even though I tried to search where they could be, but it is as if they disappeared from the earth. After so many deaths I met my partner and what is my luck that he died and nobody knew how. I was okay with that news. Some months after my partner's death, I met my second partner." Another participant reminisced: "my biological father died when I was a child. I can't remember how old I was. Shortly after my biological father's death, my mother started to work full time so we could have food on the table and she met another partner."

Weapons Use

Those women who belonged to a gang carried weapons with them as a tool to transmit fear. The gangs tended to recruit the female members to carry and store their weapons in the belief that the police did not see women as a threat. One interviewee noted: "the police never search women, only the men, so my boss always gave us women all the weapons hidden inside our clothes, so we can carry them inside the nightclub or to other places without any trouble. We

always carried knives with us because one time we used them against a person to assist us in getting out of the nightclub once the police arrived and I wanted to escape as soon as possible." Sometimes if they wanted to better their position in the hierarchy in the gang, they needed to bring weapons to the gang members. One claimed: "so the boss could upgrade your position inside the gang but you needed to do things like bringing weapons to the group such as knives. I put a bike chain inside a hose one time, so we can hit our target harder."

These participants reported feeling protected and safer with a sense of heightened power if they were carrying weapons with them. One claimed: "my gang taught me to work with knives with different shapes and how to hide them. They taught me how to use chains, dumbbells and even how to use guns. I felt so good and they constantly told me how good and powerful I was. I remembered that I used my knife against a person to avoid being caught by the police and I have no remorse about it." One participant was tasked with hiding the weapons for her brother who belonged to one of the largest and more violent gangs in Guatemala. Her brother used to give her heavy luggage each week to store at her place, from AK47 to rifles and knives. She recalled: "I helped my brother to store and hide heavy luggage for him. He used to have all kinds of weapons inside the luggage." She was doing this type of job for the gang until the police came to her house, conducted a search, and confiscated all the weapons and luggage and she was subsequently incarcerated in prison.

CONCLUSION

This chapter dealt with basic findings drawn from the observations in the field as well as the qualitative interviews made with the women living around the dump area of Guatemala City. It provided an overview of the characteristics of the respondents and their environment. It explored the intergenerational linkages across three generations of their families, with sub-themes of absconding, a sense of abandonment, and fluidity and volatility in the structures. The

women suggested that there was an absence of family bonds and their intimate relationships with partners were volatile with multiple partners and a lack of knowledge about the fate of family members as well as a lack of communication and poor attachment. There was evidence from the qualitative interviews of involvement with gangs for instrumental crimes with sub-themes of financial purposes, to achieve safety and to gain status. The women reported being abused in three ways: physically, emotionally and sexually. All of these sub-themes were cumulative and reflective of a subculture of violence, where the women were using or carrying weapons in order to transmit fear to their community and feel respected, and similarly there was significant incidence and prevalence of substance use. These findings will be discussed in the next chapter and how these themes are related to intergenerational linkages of crime and delinquency.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the findings of this qualitative interview research project and place them in the context of the issues raised in the literature review. The purpose of this study was to investigate intergenerational linkages for women from Zone 3 of Guatemala City, who had engaged in juvenile delinquency. The data gathered included fieldwork observations, research diary notes, informal conversations with key informants, as well as semi-structured interviews with the female participants. The interviews elicited information about the women, their parents' generation and also those of their children (most of whom are now adults). It also explored the impact on neighbourhoods and communities when women are involved in crime. Thus, the data reflected the attempt to garner material to further interrogate the notions, as identified in this study, of the intergenerational linkages within families.

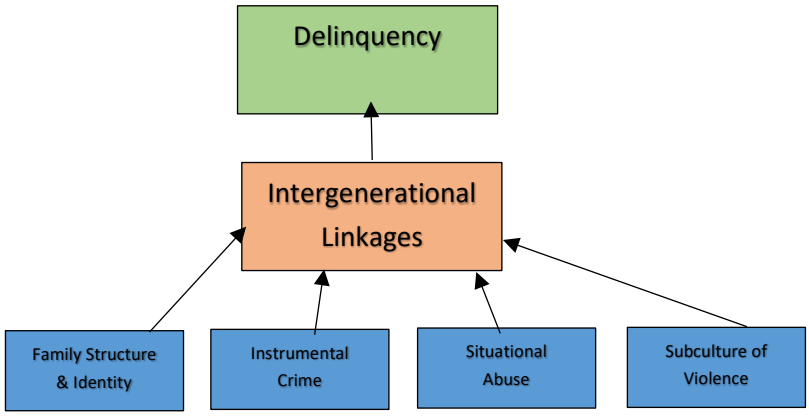
Overall, the model generated from this research study comprised qualitative interviews with women living around the dump area of Guatemala City. Based on the General Strain Theory, the coding themes derived from the analysis of the interviews produced four main categories: family structure and identity, instrumental crime, situational abuse, and subculture of violence. Inadequate support from their families, volatile family structures, social identity and instrumental crime emerged as direct intergenerational linkages of committing delinquent acts and crime. This family disorganisation, lack of family structure and abusive stepfathers and siblings created a negative strain that served as a push factor encouraging them to seek support outside the home. Instead, the women found partners or gangs who abused them and now their children are replicating their delinquent steps, thus reflecting the subcultural elements of violence. The structure of this chapter is based around the four main themes that were

presented in the previous chapter: family structure and identity, instrumental crime, situational abuse, and subculture of violence. These are raised here and discussed in the context of Agnew's theory of general strain.

EXPLORING THE MAIN THEMES

The participants reported experiences of parental abuse, that in part at least lead them to commit delinquent acts and possibly fostered predispositions for delinquent behaviour. The participants were not only physically, but emotionally and sexually abused mainly by their stepfathers and their own siblings from a young age. The results of this study indicate that in the circumstances surrounding the life trajectories of the participants, their involvement in juvenile delinquency centred on four main themes which are encapsulated in this model.

Figure 7: Dynamics of intergenerational linkages and delinquency for women in Guatemala.



The themes represented in Figure 7 are deduced from the data which represents the various factors that contributed to and resulted from the participants' engagement with delinquency. These intergenerational linkage within Guatemalan families is a vertical effect on transmitting negative strains within families and it is evident in family structure and identity, instrumental crime, situational abuse and the violent subculture coding themes.

Family Structure and Identity

The volatility of family structures for these women, created conflict within families generating instability for them. The first generation of absent biological fathers appeared to be a critical component for this dysfunctional family structure. This was evident in the lack of paternal knowledge that seemed present across three generations: their parents, themselves and their children. The narratives contained claims such as "I never met my father" and these were exemplified in every interview. Each participant came from a large, single-parent household and none of their fathers were consistently in their lives, rather there were "serial" stepfathers and siblings with different fathers, which was a situation associated with abuse. Consequently, the participants and their siblings left their homes and ran away, yielding absconding and abandonment as key sub-themes to emerge. Such a finding fits with the familiar refrain of many studies, such as that by Thornberry, Smith and Howard (1997), which showed that delinquency is associated with running away and it is also related to involvement in adult crime (Elliott, Huizinga, & Menard, 1989; Kandel, 1990; Laub, Nagin, & Sampson, 1998). The difficulties play out in a short vignette from one of the participants:

> You see, I hated home. I never knew what my mum did for living, but she was always away from home. She just came at night and I always saw her very tired. I remember that she used make up that in our neighbourhood was not use to see a woman wearing makeup. One of many times that she came back home tired and hit me. I remember when I was around seven years old, I lost 20 quetzales (AU$4) she grabbed me and tied me around my neck against the shower. She told me if I move, I kill myself. Then, I just remember she took me to an orphanage. I stayed there for a short while and escaped from that place. I was so scared because I didn't have any place to go so I stayed the night in a ravine that was close by. It was very cold but luckily I met this girl who was hiding there from the police. She had a big knife with her. She stole from houses in the neighbourhood. She showed me how to defend myself from others and taught me the business of stealing from houses. It was then, when I met my first partner. He was part of a local gang and soon I got pregnant. I was not a loving mother so I left the baby with family and friends sometimes while I was still in the stealing business so I could have some cash for living. Shortly, this guy left me because he didn't

> love me anymore. So I met a new guy who belonged to a different band and got pregnant again. I did the same as with my other baby and left him a while too. Now, that they are bigger, one already a teenager and the other one an adult, I can see all the damage that I caused from my absence in their lives. My oldest son is already a gang member and I almost never see him and when I do, he is always with new guns and new tattoos in his face. And my second son, I never heard about him ever… . I heard once that he was working with a drug dealer but he never spoke to me anymore. I cry when I think that I had them once and lost them forever.

Family structure is therefore an important component for the transmission of crime and delinquency for those women. According to Loeber (2003), young delinquents have a tendency to come from unstable family backgrounds with an absence of parental figures. It is also related to a predisposition of crime and delinquency within families if a family member is involved in criminal acts (Diaz, 2014; Connolly, Schwartz, Jackson, & Beaver, 2018; Crossley, 2000; Sipsma, Bielo, Cole-Lewis, & Kershaw, 2010; Whitten, Vecchio, Radford, & Fitzgerald, 2017). The correlation between criminal convictions and an increase of the number of convicted family members has been widely demonstrated (Farrington, 2004; Fergusson & Horwood, 1998; Cullen, Agnew, & Wilcox, 2014). However, there are some studies that are not conclusive on this matter (Robins & Lewis, 1966; Murray et al., 2012; Besemer, Bijleveld, & Farrington, 2013). For example, the Cambridge Study of Delinquent Development (CSDD) found that a main predictor of crime of an offspring was the direct involvement of crime of the father (Murray, Janson, & Farrington, 2007; Conger, Neppl, Jeong-Kim, & Scarmella, 2003).

Furthermore, according to Robert Agnew (2007), types of strains most likely to cause crime involve relations with family members. They may include parental rejection, volatile family structure and parental separation, among others. The negative strains of having dysfunctional relationships within families has a negative outcome that could increase the risk of delinquent and criminal behaviour. Agnew (2006, 2012), in his GST, stated that there is a correlation between negative strains and negative emotions. The negative emotions can set the individual up for coping with the strained situation by resorting to delinquent acts and crime.

For example, running away may increase the likelihood of participating in delinquency and antisocial behaviour and to be subject to victimisation and gang involvement (Baron, 2006). Consequently, running away acts as one potential consequence designed to reduce strain. It is both a behaviour to avoid a negative stimulus, as well as a factor influenced by negative emotion (Bao, Haas, Chen, & Pi, 2014). Running away from home is related to volatile family structures and it is in accordance with repeated strains. The women who ran away from home were suffering from distress and chose to be on the streets rather than in their homes as a response to negative emotions arising from the instability, volatility and abuse. This is not to suggest a direct causation, because according to Agnew (2009), the relationship between negative strain and delinquency is indirect. Stressful events might lead to delinquency if the participant responds by running away from home (Agnew, 2006). High levels of family conflict present negative stimuli and may increase individual anger towards others and elevate the risk for aggression (Mazerolle, Piquero, & Capowich, 2003), and in this way, conflict within families is an important and consistent criminogenic strain (Baron, 2003). This is reflected in the study by Robins and Lewis (1966) who found that first generation males, meaning grandfathers, are crucial influences on younger generations within families.

In regards to the middle generation which in the present study comprised the interviewees, the participants tended also to run away from their partners as a response mainly to domestic violence. This meant that the participants left their partners and lived away from them. The narratives revealed experiences such as: “After he hit me with a tool and I fell unconscious is when I decided to run away with my children and I went to rent a small room”. Such scenarios form a replication of what they endured when they were children and living with their parents, but in an increasingly cyclical manner becomes even more complex, as the participants then had their own children and opted to abscond as a protective measure for themselves and their offspring.

As for the third generation, those children who lived with domestic violence and their mother running away from their partners, they did the same and left home as well. These children faced similar situations to their mothers — feeling unsafe at home because "partners tried to hit them". This intergenerational linkage between three generations of leaving home might lead to delinquency as a response to strain. Another explanation for the three generations to leave home relates to the complexity of teasing out the push versus pull factors such as being forced to leave either by a relative or by their own partners. The interview data contained claims that "my mum kicked me out from the house and I went to my aunty to live with her". They did not have any other choice but live on the streets until they found a place to stay. On the other hand, pull factors such as parties and nightclubs were clearly an influence for them to abscond as well. This environment also was an influential factor that made them have disorganised lives, meeting different partners and facilitated them to have access to drugs and alcohol.

This study suggests that leaving home entailed significant long-term consequences through all three generations, with engagement in sex work being a key one. According to Agnew (2006) prostitution is a reflection of a negative stimuli and its outcome is to produce illegal coping responses (Agnew, 2006; Baron, 2003, 2004). When these women ran away from home, they found it difficult to obtain legitimate work, so they often engaged in crimes like theft and prostitution to survive on the street. Under this scenario, they were frequently "abused and exploited by the males they encounter on the street" (Chesney-Lind, 1998, pp. 138-139). Thus, destructive family relationships produce negative strain that reduces levels of social control. In addition, the involvement in prostitution increases a risk of victimisation and is related to several negative stimuli such as shame and anger (Reid, 2012). Therefore, these types of strains are risk factors for prostitution and they are indirect in the form of using prostitution as an economic need to survive. Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2013) showed that

abused girls often run away from home to escape their abuse; in turn they find themselves in difficult situations resorting to prostitution to alleviate that strain; which leads to negative emotions so they tend not to value their selves with the consequence that their identities become damaged. Within the theoretical context of GST, prostitution may be present in order to relieve economic pressure and block emotional distress from the past, and is therefore a way to cope with socioeconomic demands (Agnew, 2009). As raised above in relation to family structures and volatility, there is not claim here of a direct causal relationship as it is still unclear how economic need and low self-esteem are major factors to engage in prostitution but are also the product of it (Reid, 2012).

Another long-term or cyclical element was their broken family structure. A broken home is a family that is absent one of the biological parents (Routt & Anderson, 2014). All participants came from broken homes with several stepfathers who abused them at least one time in their childhood. This created a family fluidity and volatility resulting in a sense of not belonging. On this topic, Agnew (2011), argues for example that stepparents might be indicative of family disharmony and lead to a greater risk of delinquency. He suggests that this specific type of strain has a predisposition for delinquency when multiple types of strain cluster together. This statement is supported by other authors as well, such as Baron (2003) who showed that this strain is lower when there are two biological parents present in the family and higher when there is a substitute parent. He found that changes in the family structure, tend to foster a predisposition for delinquency (Baron, 2003). Agnew (2009) found that stepparents may be indicative of family discordance and may lead to a greater risk of delinquency (Agnew, 2009; Thaxton & Agnew, 2004).

The last long-term consequence was a lack of bonding within families. With the lack of family structure, they did not create any attachment with their families. Most of the participants did not know where their family members were or if they were doing well. This absence of

knowledge highlighted a lack of belonging and a disengagement from their family unit. As above, GST showed that women who lived in high conflict families, are more likely to be involved in delinquent acts (Agnew, 2009). Agnew (2009) similarly observes that juveniles who experienced these types of strains, are more likely to show aggression later on in their lives. Such aggression may transform into anger and anger is a critical emotional marker for revenge (Agnew, 2009).

Another aspect that contributed directly to intergenerational linkages of delinquency and in line with this family structure theme, raised the spectre of negative social identity and poor relationships within families. Negative social identity accords with an absence of a sense of self as a member of their families, replicating criminal behaviour learnt from their own parents, and subsequently their children replicating the same anti-social behaviour learnt from the participants. For example, “meanwhile my daughter started to follow my steps and became a prostitute. I was told by neighbours that she was working as a prostitute.” This social aspect in family environments according to Agnew (2009) has a direct impact on delinquent acts in juveniles. The first is that strains may momentarily reduce levels of social control that may turn into delinquency. As above, an abusive parental condition may reduce the bond between parent and child and this may lead to an increase of delinquency (Asscher, Put, & Stams, 2015). Additionally, as Bao and colleagues (2014) stated, the increase of crimes or victimisation may be the result of the social aspect of crime. Criminal victimisation may be imitated via exposure to a criminal model (Dong & Krohn, 2015). Agnew (2012) observes that among the most criminogenic types of strain identified by him are parent-child relationships and prostitution was one of the replications of the strain for this research. The children of the participants who were involved in the sex-worker profession were involved as well. The children learnt from their mothers and even though the participants did not wish them to participate in the same field, they were often in secret. Neighbours were the ones who told the participants about their

children and their involvement in prostitution. In the same way, there did appear to be a correlation between social identity and drug trafficking. Children were replicating what they had seen around their neighbourhood and how people lived. It was intimated by the participants that drug trafficking in and around Zone 3 acted as an aspirational goal to gain status in their community and have the financial capacity to help their people. Of course, these results are drawn from a small qualitative sample and it is acknowledged that they need to be interpreted with caution, and in particular the situational, environmental and broader socio-economic conditions clearly impact on these work and lifestyle choices.

Instrumental Crime

A key theme to emerge from the present study is that instrumental crime has a vertical effect in terms of intergenerational linkages. Instrumental crime is deemed to be in the current context, the commission of a delinquent act because the expected utility is more than the cost. The decision to commit a crime is determined by the utility which is thought to surpass the cost of committing it (Ryan, Lane, & Leversee, 2010), including the cost of prison if the individual is caught or undergoes other legal procedures. Likewise, the possible benefits of an offence constitute an incentive only if, and to the extent that, the actor expects to commit the offence successfully and get away with it (Froggio & Agnew, 2007).

The notion of a vertical effect is used here in terms of a direct linkage to delinquency. Stealing was one of the main instruments they used in order to obtain food for their tables. Participants struggled to survive and in times of scarcity they stole so they could have food, not only for themselves, but for their families. According to the GST some strains may be perceived as injustice and therefore unfair outcomes accrue (Agnew, 1995). This feeling of injustice creates emotional distress and in order to alleviate it and try to change it, an individual may be involved in crime (Agnew, 1995). On this point Rebellon and colleagues (2012) suggest

that crime is more likely when types of injustice such as economic, relationships and unfair family interactions exist. These perceived injustices may rise again in response to negative emotional stimuli such as anger, resentment and fear, and may increase the likelihood that deviant behaviours will be pursued such as stealing and aggressive acts (Agnew, 2012). In this case participants felt that they did not have any other choice but to steal to survive. As was reported in the previous chapter, one said that "if by the end of the week I didn't have enough money to buy food for my family, I usually stole money from an old man". This sense of injustice that they have, struggling to survive while others are living well, created a negative strain and a trigger or pathway to commit crime.

A more complex sense of injustices was found in the participants and this was allied to their gang involvement. There is a combination of negative strains such as anger and resentment that are high in magnitude, and unjust in nature, that provoked them to join gangs. These strains may anticipate a decrease of valued stimuli such as ending a romantic relationship and the presentation of negative stimuli like stressful relationships within families (Agnew, 2009). These strains are more likely to be perceived as unjust from the point of view of the participants since it is perceived that a norm has been violated against them such as living in poverty and possessing a low level of social status (Agnew, 2005). Coming from broken families, sometimes pushes them out of home, they felt injustice because of former and present maltreatment, and they believe that gangs can protect them from harm and danger (Sigfussdottir, Farkas, & Silver, 2004). In addition, gang membership enhances their social capital so that some people will fear them which is interpreted as an sign of elevated status. There is a correlation of leaving home to join a gang. Participants found among the gang members comfort and support (both material and immaterial) that they did not get from their own families. This scenario is exemplified in the claims of one participant: "I tried to be more in the streets than at home and tried to make friends, so I met a group of friends who lived in

my neighbourhood and every afternoon we gathered together. They understood me completely and I felt they were my real family."

According to Rubio (2007), poverty itself is not the explanation for joining gangs. There are numerous factors associated with the involvement of gangs ranging across individuals, neighbourhoods, family, school and peer groups (Rubio, 2007). The noxious stimuli of negative relationships with others and victimisation such as harsh punishment and mistreatment may lead to certain outcomes (Agnew, 2005). Respondents may find they are struggling to get opportunities such as working in the legal market and they tend to see problems with the system such as adapting themselves to cultural norms (Cruz, 2007; Rubio, 2007). They also may feel rejected from their own families and society, and it awakens the need to create a new culture where they feel understood and supported (Rubio, 2007).

Agnew's GST theory (2009) does tangentially reference joining gangs where he suggests that adolescents believe that the only way they can feel emotionally supported is by taking up the gang subculture. Also, the culture of gangs around the neighbourhood may inculcate them for that is often seen as the only way to obtain money and no longer live in poverty (Rubio, 2007; Valdez, 2007). According to Agnew (2012), they may see the gangs as their real family who understand them and provide them with support. The GST argues that society can have inequality of status and lifestyle and there is only a limited number of opportunities that society itself offers and this can be a negative outcome of negative strains in society (Agnew, 2012). Therefore, it can create divisions within and between societies and render it difficult to adapt to norms in society (Agnew, 2012).

Adolescents may also join gangs because membership compensates for environmental deficits like providing work opportunities (Fleisher, 2010). Studies have shown that living in a high-risk neighbourhood may increase the propensity of youth to join local gangs as opposed to living in a low-delinquency area (Government Accountability Office, 2010). In the present

case, residing in Zone 3, where the main garbage dump of Guatemala City is located, the inhabitants are more susceptible to be surrounded by local gangs. Zone 3 is exposed to negative environmental stimuli, such as drug abuse, delinquency and gang involvement and dangerous neighbourhoods in the terms expressed in the GST (Agnew, 2012).

Normally, youth who join gangs rarely have contact with parents (Rubio, 2007); they have experienced poor parental practices such as harsh punishments (Thornberry & Henry, 2013); or they have been subject to other types of aggression that made them leave home. Therefore, by joining gangs these individuals are more exposed to commit different types of crime and delinquency. On the other hand, if a family member is already a gang member, it is likely to increase the chance of that adolescent becoming affiliated with the gang, since familial criminality provides environments that reinforce gang-related and delinquent behaviour (Thornberry, 2005). Some of the women interviewed in this project clearly received direct or indirect financial and other support from gangs.

According to Thornberry and Henry (2013), if adolescents cannot integrate into legitimate societal institutions like studying or working legally, they may be tempted into deviant peer groups. These peer groups may be involved in delinquency and thus may increase the chances to be involved in gang membership (Thornberry & Henry, 2013). The gangs may provide an identity to the youth who does not have an identity from home. This collective identity helps them to defend each other from external threats that they may perceive. Family structure and type of neighbourhood, which in this case renders a low-socioeconomic status, has an interrelation since families with poor or unstable structures such as changes in parental partners and frequently moving house in their community, potentially live in disorganised neighbourhoods (Rubio, 2007).

Substance Abuse

Substance abuse was a sub-theme to emerge from the open-ended interviews and it was consistent across all participants. While it was not originally envisaged as a primary coding theme, the narratives did contain quite a deal of discussion, experiences, events and observations, and thus this sub-theme is afforded additional discussion here. It is also highly related to the situational abuses (physical, emotional, sexual) that formed a primary theme from the interview transcripts, and certainly such an association is common in the criminological literature (Rushforth & Willis, 2003).

Substance abuse has vertical implications in terms of being present across three generations of the participants' families as well as environmental implications for delinquency. For example, drugs and alcohol were introduced by peers and gang members in their neighbourhood and provide an environmental impetus for committing delinquent acts under those substances. The linkages between adolescent alcohol and drug consumption and offending are direct, although not one-directional. That may be explained because of the effects of alcohol such as disinhibition, cognitive perceptual distortions, among others (Menard & Arter, 2013). According to Agnew (2012), aggressive behaviour is a negative strain that can increase with alcohol and drugs. This also may arise because of common casual factors of vulnerability that are associated with an increase of alcohol and drug misuse and increased risks of juvenile offending (Menard & Arter, 2013). The consumption of drugs and alcohol have some risk factors such as harsh family environment, peer influence, among others.

Early aggression leads to increase in alcohol use, but alcohol use does not lead to increases in aggressive behaviours, according to Menard and Arter (2013). If adolescents present with aggression, they have higher risk to alcohol and drug abuse. According to Reed, Nugent and Cooper (2015), women who depend on alcohol and drugs, experience more stress than males do. These types of stresses can be taking care of their children, low income, being

a single mother, dysfunction in the family, among other variables. These women showed dependency of alcohol and drugs as a way to cope with their own strains. References to both licit and illicit substances such as alcohol (mainly beer) and drugs (generally marijuana) as well as the practice of glue sniffing were part of all the narratives for the participants, their parents, their siblings, and their adult children. Substance abuse was clearly linked to the frequency and prevalence of the situational abuse such as sexual and physical. In the qualitative cases a stepfather used substance abuse as a trigger to perpetrate another type of abuse against the women, normally sexually. When one parent had a substance abuse such as glue sniffing, the stepfather took advantage of it to sexually abuse the female participant.

In terms of the GST, substance abuse is a criminal act (excluding alcohol for those of requisite age). It also states that emotions such as depression and despair are responses to strain that may increase the intake of alcohol and drugs (Agnew, 2012). Low-income residents tend to have this type of strain in the form of structural disadvantage such as the belief that there is no resolution for their restricted circumstances (Rubio, 2007). Agnew (2012) showed that substance abuse represents an emotional effect whereby thwarted aspirations lead to negative outcomes and thus a relinquishing of identity by using substances to cope with their reality and deal with their strains.

For these women drug and alcohol abuse is more a way to deal with their negative emotions including anger and a consequence of their situational abuse including physical and emotional. The participants claimed to learn their addiction from either their previous partners and from peers. Additionally, they came from either a drunk parent or both parents who abused them when they were either drunk or under drugs, to a partner who does the same to them and now their children are doing the same creating a direct intergenerational linkage within families. Substance abuse is seen more as a trigger to alleviate their negative strain such as anger. At this point, it is worth observing that the female participants gave indications that there

was a learning or modelling process inherent in following in the footsteps of their progenitors (whether of their parents or of themselves). Yet, a closer inspection of the data shows that this is more an expression of coping styles or opportunities and thus it adheres far more closely to Agnew's General Strain Theory than it would to the many sociological and criminological theories of learning (see Sutherland, 1947, for example).

Situational abuse was the broader theme to be drawn from the interviews being physical, sexual and emotional abuse. The participants came from seeing and suffering themselves from physical abuse at their homes. A typical household they lived in was their stepfather at the time who physically abused their mother when he was drunk or under the influence of drugs. When they left their homes, they went with partners who enacted similar scenarios creating a chain of intergenerational linkage within families. The environment where they live assisted in this outcome where they not only replicated the physical abusive environment but engendered a new one with the same factors at play. Also, there is a link between physical abuse and substance abuse. It appeared that when a partner or themselves were affected by a substance, this unleashed a series of negative actions like physical abuse. The literature shows that childhood victimisation such as physical and sexual abuse have an impact on children's victimisation and therefore in their negative behaviour such as depression, delinquency and violence (Agnew, 2012). Additionally, experiencing physical abuse in childhood is related to later on being aggressive to others, especially to peers, partners and offspring. Agnew (2012) reiterated that strains that are high in magnitude (perceived as unjust) are located in societies with low social control that generate crime (Agnew, 2012). Childhood abuse by parents and in this case, mainly by the stepfathers, may meet these criteria and consequently, these experiences, may lead to criminal acts.

There are several studies, such as that of Blackman and Dring (2016), that demonstrate the pathways through which children who suffered from sexual abuse report an earlier age to

start using alcohol and drugs. Likewise, Agnew (2012) stated that victimisation (particularly child abuse) is one of the most significant forms of strain — a specific form of criminogenic strain. So, victimisation complies with all the features of strains that may lead to crime (Agnew, 2012). Further, violent victimisation is high in magnitude and a noxious experience which is likely to produce negative strain. Agnew (2012) was also able to show in his examination that victimisation is more likely to be in environments where there are low levels of social control. Finally, victimisation can create pressure to engage in criminal coping by justifying delinquent behaviour associated with crime (Agnew, 2005). In this case, respondents were abused mainly by their stepfathers and siblings when they were young girls as indicated above. Part of the reason that siblings were sexually abusing them is because they were replicating what they observed with their parents. They all lived in the same rooms and most of them shared the same beds. Ignorance from the siblings played a role in all this. On the other hand, when they were abused by their stepfathers, they were aware of what they were doing since they asked them to keep a secret and not to tell anybody about it because otherwise they will get punished. Agnew (2012) notes that females are more likely to experience strains like sexual abuse and gender discrimination. This may make them run away from home and consequently find it difficult to obtain legitimate work, so they often turn to crimes like theft and prostitution to survive on the street, which cycles into further abuse (Chesney-Lind, 1998).

A form of emotional abuse comprised aggressive verbal communication towards the participants and was linked to physical and sexual abuse. This aggressive verbal communication was normally yelling, screaming and blackmailing or threatening the woman. When it was a physical abuse circumstance, yelling and screaming was involved prior to the physical abuse with substance abuse seemingly a trigger of the aggression. On the other hand, when it was a sexual abuse, it came normally with blackmailing the participant to not report the incident creating in them a state of emotional suppression and another trigger to commit

delinquent acts. Another form of emotional abuse that participants remembered when they were children was about the parent(s) treating them as an adult and forcing them to undertake the lead role in the household such as cleaning, cooking and taking care of their siblings, while the parent in charge was either drunk or consuming drugs. In other cases, they needed to find a job in the dump or as a cleaner in order to bring money to buy basic needs for the household such as food. They exhibited considerable regret about missing out on their childhood, saying: "during that period of time was a tough time for me because I wanted to do girl or child things like my friends were doing and not playing the role of a mum with huge responsibilities like being constantly concerned about bringing food for the table and cleaning and cooking for my family". This negative emotional strain, lead participants to hostile environments creating a further acts of aggression or delinquency on their parts (Agnew, 2005).

Subculture of Violence

As outlined in Chapter IV, the final primary coded theme found in the research was a subculture of violence that was reflective of the intergenerational linkage within families. There are many deaths around their families, ignorance and lack of interest in knowing what happened with them. Neighbours were the ones who often told the respondents about the deaths of their relatives claiming that they heard from another neighbour that they found them dead. This lack of emotional attachment from their relatives created a barrier to participants' sense of belonging in their families. All of these sub-themes were cumulative and reflective of a subculture of violence, where the women were using or carrying weapons in order to transmit fear to their community and feel respected, and similarly there was significant incidence and prevalence of substance use.

The lack of emotional attachment makes it difficult to adapt and follow conventional norms of society (Agnew, 2005). However, according to the author, delinquency will be lower

in conventional families with strong emotional attachment, not only because they learn to appreciate one another but to feel respect to one another and therefore to care about society norms and conventions (Agnew, 2005). It is an indirect form of parental control. A conventional behaviour is gained by the positive relationship between parent and offspring. However, delinquent behaviour, increases if the bond to the parent is weak (Agnew, 2009). Agnew (2005) demonstrates the ways in which that lack of parental attachment creates children in distress. On the contrary, having a positive bond with parents helps to naturally adapt to environments and helps to respect cultural norms (Agnew, 2005). If the parent-child attachment relationship is broken or interrupted during infancy, it can promote aggression and consequently lead to delinquent acts later on in life. Some authors suggest that from early ages in childhood they can learn and form patterns from people, generally from the immediate surrounding that normally is the family of origin (Zavala, 2013). They can rationally internalise their experiences of those they are attached to, which in this case are parents, to later on have expectations about their own relationships and shape it during their subsequent developmental stages (Zavala, 2013).

Part of the subculture of violence was an echo effect that carrying weapons was one of the main outcomes for these women, especially for those who were involved in gangs. Those women who belonged to a gang, carried weapons with them as a tool to transmit fear. The gangs tended to recruit the female members to carry and store their weapons in the belief that the police did not see women as a threat. The interviewees reported feeling protected and safer with a sense of heightened power if they were carrying weapons with them. Their gangs, specifically, taught them how to use weapons, such as knives, chains, dumbbells and ultimately guns.

For these respondents carrying a weapon, highlights that they are living not only in a disadvantaged neighbourhood, but an outcome of strains such as family neglect, harsh

discipline and alcohol or drug abuse (Chesney-Lind & Jones, 2010). According to Chesney-Lind and Jones (2010) it is common for female adolescents growing up in low socio-economic status neighbourhoods to have an affiliation with gangs, and in turn be victimised within the gangs (Chesney-Lind & Jones, 2010). The violence that they are subject to inside the gangs, has been receiving considerable attention in the literature because there is an increase in the rates of adolescents carrying weapons and using them to fight (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013). Carrying weapons is associated with physical aggression or fighting against rival gangs, against police or to transmit fear in their neighbourhoods. The presence of weapons for those women increased the likelihood of injuries, imprisonment and potentially the risk of death. It also may increase negative developmental pathways and family adversities in the future (Colman et al., 2009).

In consideration of the above factors that may contribute to develop violent behaviours and a culture of violence, it is essential to understand how the family contributes to this subculture of violence. Poor parental supervision, for example, has been found to have a direct relationship with violence and aggression (Loeber, 1996), and this can be detrimental in the home of the adolescent and has been found to correlate with parental and youth aggressiveness (Murray, Loeber, & Pardini, 2012). Further, this characterisation of chaotic relationships between parents and children is significantly related to delinquency and may be escalated into violence and consequently the risk of carrying weapons.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter dealt with findings drawn from open-ended interviews and supported by field observations. It provided an overview of the emerging themes of the research and the linkage with General Strain Theory, the main theoretical framework, and intergenerational linkage of female juvenile delinquency in Guatemala. This chapter also provided evidence of the

importance of the six themes: family structure, social identity and relationships, situational abuse, substance abuse, instrumental crime, and subculture of violence to propagate delinquency and consequently crime in the area studied.

Juvenile delinquency is largely committed by young girls who had several negative strains in their lives, the main one being low self-control. High levels of family conflict that the participants showed carries a negative stimulus, which in turn, may transform into negative emotions such as anger and resentment and this in turn can increase the risk of aggression and consequently lead to crime. Additionally, the results for females underlines a risk of being involved in delinquency if they suffered from child abuse and, therefore, have negative outcomes in the future such as low self-control. Multiple research studies have shown the "increase in female headed households below the poverty line and the increase in female crime" (Agnew, 2006, p. 141; see also Agnew, 2009, 2010, 2011). In his examination of the empirical literature, Agnew (2006,) emphasised that females are more likely to be involved in a criminal act if they are "poor, are low in constraint and high in negative emotionality, are low in conventional support, are low in social control, associate with criminal others, hold beliefs favourable to crime, and reject traditional gender beliefs" (Agnew, 2006, p. 142).

As seen in the Results chapter and according to Agnew's theory, these conditions apply to the women who were interviewed for this study. The participants suffered from negative and extreme family environments with severe punishment during their childhood, parental dysfunctionality with a father or in numerous cases, the stepfather, being violent because of alcohol or drug abuse. This qualitative research dealt with basic findings drawn from the observations in the field as well as the qualitative interviews made with the women living around the dump area of Guatemala City. It provided an overview of the characteristics of the respondents and their environment, and it explored the intergenerational linkages across three generations in their families. Their family relationships were volatile, because they changed

partners often. Family relationships were also strained because of a lack of communication from family members. There was evidence from the qualitative interviews of the involvement with gangs for instrumental crimes for financial purposes, to achieve safety and to gain status. Moreover, these women reported being abused in three ways: physically, emotionally and sexually. All these sub-themes were cumulative and reflective of a subculture of violence, where the women were using or carrying weapons to transmit fear to their community and feel respected. Similarly, there was significant incidence and prevalence of substance use. Those strains put in conflict traditional values and jeopardised adherence to cultural norms.

It has been observed that émigrés to the United States who escaped previous conflict zones in Latin America and who now have been deported from American shores have brought with them a "Latino gang culture" on their return (Moser, 2005). This has resulted in wholesale importation of "street gangs" into the region, including Guatemala, that has exacerbated deviant and delinquent proclivities (Moser, 2005). Guatemala shows one of the highest rates of violence in Latin America. One of the main reasons that Central America has a high crime rate is because governments are incapable of reinforcing the law. Good governance, which not only protects its citizens but promotes a healthy social and economic development has been lacking and replaced by industry leaders, gangs and drug traffickers. Thus, governance standards have decreased. For example, in Guatemala, it is known that the wars between drug cartels and the genocide in the 1980s were permitted by the state of Guatemala (United Nations Office of Drugs & Crime, 2007).

Additionally, Guatemala has been experiencing a marked deterioration in the levels of violence since 1999 measured by the growth of total homicides and the rate of homicides per 100,000 inhabitants. The Northern Triangle of Central America (El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala) presents comparable levels of homicide rates and similar problems in terms of security. This violence rate in Guatemala is related to poverty. That is, violence tends to be

distributed mostly in the poorest municipalities and zones. It is necessary to deepen the analysis of the relationship of violence with inequity. Violence against women should be a point of attention for initiatives to prevent and reduce violence. The perception of insecurity, which can also be called a level of fear, negatively affects the quality of life of Guatemalans. The data presented in this study illustrated that the perception of insecurity in Guatemala City has a greater increment than victimisation. It also contributes to generate a clearer idea about the insecurity of the population in Guatemala.

Guatemalan youth is a population segment that requires priority attention in terms of prevention of violence and enhanced security. The statistics provided information that in Guatemala, young people consistently were the main victims and, at the same time, the main perpetrators. In this research more specifically, the families who live in the main garbage dump located in Guatemala City, are living in poverty that has been consistent over generations and causes a lack of mobility and ignorance regarding poverty and education. The only thing they know is their surroundings and how to work in the dump. There is still not yet available a government program that can help them to provide their basic needs such as food and clean water. Therefore, there is violence such as drugs, theft, burglary and, ultimately, homicides. It is even difficult for the police to help since it is even dangerous for them to be in the area. As a consequence, the government should promote, design, adopt and implement a national security policy in which it can provide a framework for action against violence and crime, promoting the participation of citizens in a joint effort. This effort should also be undertaken by local governments, which have the special capacity to successfully promote interventions at a community level in terms of preventing violence by encouraging the participation of local citizens. For the success of these efforts, it is necessary to strengthen the quality of information for which interventions are planned and which can be monitored and evaluated. In other words,

the need to institutionalise and professionalise the measurement and analysis of insecurity and violence phenomenon is required.

On the other hand, there is growing research about the intergenerational transmission of crime in the criminological field, and this research aims to add to this effort by studying female crime in Guatemala. Overall, the results suggest that the linkages between families has a direct impact on their future generations. There is a need for future research to continue to examine, in more detail, the influence of older generations regarding younger generations committing offences and, more specifically, the role of females and their influences on their offspring to commit crime or delinquent acts. Findings from such research will help to explore and understand the role of gender and the intergenerational transmission of crime in Guatemala. It is recommended to reduce the exposure of negative strains that are conducive to crime to reduce crime rates and the likelihood to cope with them. For example, it is necessary to concentrate on situations that are repudiated by most of a group and when those strains are eliminated, the risk of crime is reduced. Another strategy is to alter the perceptions and goals of individuals so that these challenging events and conditions are subjectively evaluated as less severe and more just.

Parent-training programs are needed in order to reduce a range of family-related strains and anti-bullying programs that attempt to reduce peer abuse. Those programs are particularly useful since family is a major source of strains related to crime commission, with parental rejection, erratic, excessive and harsh discipline, and child abuse and neglect being key contributors to crime (Agnew, 2008). If it is not possible to eliminate or reduce those strains conducive to crime, it may be possible to alter the nature of these strains. For example, for the secondary labour market, it may be reduced by increasing some benefits by implementing or adapting laws, such as an increase of the minimum wage, additional health care benefits, and family activities. There is a predisposition for adolescents to commit crime if they feel

frustrated and stressed from the environment they are living in, so they try to escape from it by showing antisocial behaviour (Bao et al., 2014). Family disfunction is a major factor that is intergenerational and leads to crime.

Reintegration programs for juvenile delinquents should be flexible and adapt to each individual's needs and unique familial circumstance. It is necessary to strengthen the family roles, promote healthy school environments and create a solid community in order to reintegrate the juvenile delinquent back into society (Levenson, 1998). All interventions must be designed from the perspective of their development and need to be educational in order to teach juveniles how to address their specific problems in a healthy manner (Little & Smith, 2009). There is a need for alternative programs as opposed to imprisonment, which can help the juvenile delinquent to understand and to increase the chances of changing to be more adaptable in society and to reintegrate into it (Levenson, 1998). These types of interventions, like the programs above, should be addressed through referral mechanisms and as an outsource of the justice system. Moreover, Guatemala's judicial system should resort to imprisonment of a juvenile only as a last resort, since it is harder and more expensive for the state to reintegrate them to society after the imprisonment (Little & Smith, 2009). If it is necessary to constrain the freedom of a juvenile, it should take into account his or her circumstance in terms of social and family environments and not solely of the type of crime (Margolin, 1998). Moreover, the international norms also specifically promote that the country provides alternative measures which are non-custodial in nature for all juveniles that have committed a crime (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989). Efforts should be made to provide community programs and establish and implement programs aimed at strengthening social support to enable the discretionary disposition of cases (United Nations Office of Drugs & Crime, 2011). If adolescents must go to prison, there should be post-release programs in place to help them

to reintegrate into society, such as social, education and psychological assistance (United Nations Office of Drugs & Crime, 2011).

There is a lack of studies in regards to gender specific programs of reintegration of society and how to deal with female risk factors related to female crime (Chauhan, Reppucci, & Turkheimer, 2009), and there are not many options to address these risks since they diverge from male offenders. It has been shown that there is a correlation between relationships and crime for female offenders (Fang & Corso, 2007; Gonzalez-Mendez et al., 2014; Hope, Wilder, & Watt, 2003; Kerig, 2014; Reed et al., 2015). Similarly, female offenders possess an inclination to change effortlessly through their family ties (Agnew, 2009). Further, female self-esteem and confidence is made through their bonds and relationships with others (Agnew, 2009). It has been found that females react better to a general programming approach than a program which contains several steps and facets to reintegrate them into society (Anderson et al., 2016). This general approach includes not only interventions that the female offender needs to face and deal their own difficulties and challenges but it offers them continuity and an ongoing individual set of interventions (Anderson & Petersen, 2016). The different roles of women in the care of others, such as daughters, mothers or wives, should be clearly understood, given that they cannot be effectively assisted if they are isolated from their families and environments (Addison, 2011). In most of those rehabilitation programs, females are in prison with no family members involved including their children, so these programs should reinforce these bonds and help them to relieve the distress of not having any family members around them. Moreover, encouraging positive communication with their families and not isolating them is a way to assist and help them to rehabilitate more quickly. The cessation of crime by women also seems to be related to what some authors have described as stages in relationship commitments and acceptance of their responsibility by others (e.g. in the context of families) (Anderson et al., 2016). These types of interventions which provide emotional support and help

them build healthy relationships appear to be successful among female offenders (Chauhan, Reppucci, Burnette, & Reiner, 2010). Female programs to reintegrate them into society must include consideration of their unique life experiences and circumstances to identify what is important for them and work with it (Chauhan et al., 2009).

As sexual and physical victimisation of women occurs frequently, there is a need for corresponding interventions in the community (Hay & Evans, 2006). In developed countries where specialised counsellors are accessible to deal with different problems such as sexual assault, programs have been developed to help female victims overcome assaults through several phases from medical evaluations to treatments, security protection and training (McGrath, Nilsen, & Kerley, 2011). However, in developing countries like Guatemala, the aforementioned programs do not exist; thus, victims are left to their own means to deal with the emotional and psychological trauma. There is a need to develop specific programs to address the main issues which arose in this research, such as family structure, and with the help of community leaders and trained psychologists, group sessions can be developed to allow them to express their feelings and emotions and help them to be part of a healthy community. This is especially helpful for women who have suffered from victimisation and may give them the strength to resolve conflict within themselves and move forward in life (McGrath et al., 2011).

In the case of women who have children being imprisoned for a criminal or delinquent act, isolation may create a series of challenges, including interference with mother-child bonding (Miller, 2010). The role of mother is an additional challenge besides the ones that are faced by any other prisoner like employment issues, housing, lack of economic means, among others. Even if mothers go to prison for a short period of time, it has been demonstrated that it creates changes in the family structure, so it is fundamental to focus on effective measurements and program interventions to support and empower those mothers (United Nations Office of

Drugs & Crime, 2011). The case management approach can be an effective way to structure programs to deal with numerous and specific needs of these women in a gender-specific manner.

The current situation in Guatemala is complex, and so this thesis should not be seen solely as an examination of individual-level factors of crime. There is no single causal nor correlational variable that would explain the high levels of violence (Little & Smith, 2009) but it is most likely attributable to broader historical, political, social and economic conditions, as well as the exclusion and marginalisation that the women of Zone 3 are subject to (Peace Pledge Union Information, 2011). The familiar frame of high unemployment levels, significant social inequality, dysfunctional societal institutions such as law enforcement and the education system clearly impact on the lives of these women, both directly and indirectly. So it is conceded that a major overarching limitation to the present study is its incapacity to address those wider social forces. There are as well other limitations to this research endeavour. One is the limited official data about juvenile delinquency in Guatemala, that is gender specific or longitudinal, and thus there is little background information from which to fully inform this project. While the present research adopted a qualitative methodology to delve more deeply into the intergenerational transmission of crime, it was nevertheless a cross-sectional study that cannot capture, in real time, the long-term outcomes. In addition, there were a number of practical difficulties such as communicating with the respondents mainly because of the local "gang-slang" language they use. Therefore, the researcher needed to understand the context of the conversation rather than just transcribe the interviews. The intent of this research was to provide a general and broad understanding of existing intergenerational linkages of crime for women in Guatemala, and it will hopefully inspire further in-depth studies in the future.

References

Addison, H. (2011). *An examination of personality type preferences of male and female juvenile delinquents*, PhD Dissertation, Auburn University, available at ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Agnew, R. (1992). Foundation for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency. *Criminology, 30*(1), 47-88. Doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9125.1992.tb01093.x

Agnew, R. (1995). Building on the foundation of general strain theory: Specifying the types of strain most likely to lead to crime and delinquency. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 38*(4), 319-361. Doi: 10.1177/0022427801038004001

Agnew, R. (2005). *Why do criminals offend?: A general theory of crime and delinquency*. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury.

Agnew, R. (2006). *Pressured into crime: An overview of general strain theory*. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury.

Agnew, R. (2009). *The contribution of "mainstream" theories to the explanation of female delinquency.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Agnew, R. (2010). Controlling crime: Recommendations from General Strain Theory (pp. 25-44). In H. D. Barlow & S. H. Decker (eds.), *Criminology and public policy: Putting theory to work.* Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press.

Agnew, R. (2011). *Toward a unified criminology: Integrating assumptions about crime, people and society*. New York: New York University Press.

Agnew, R. (2012). Reflection on "A revised strain theory of delinquency". *Social Forces, 91*(1), 33-38. Doi: 10.1093/sf/sos117

Alda, E., & Beliz, G. (2007). *?Cual es la salida? la agenda inconclusa de la seguridad ciudadana*. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank.

Alder, C., & Worrall, A. (2004). *Girls' violence myths and realities*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Alfarero. (2015). Fotos empoderando a los ninos. Retrieved from:

Anderson, V. R., Walerych, B. M., Campbell, N. A., Barnes, A. R., Davidson, W. S., Campbell, C. A., Petersen, J. L. (2016). Gender-responsive intervention for female juvenile offenders: A quasi-experimental outcome evaluation. *Feminist Criminology,* 1-21. Doi: 10.1177/1557085116677749

Andrade, R. C., Silva, V. A., & Assumpção Jr., F. B. (2004). Preliminary data on the prevalence of psychiatric disorders in Brazilian male and female juvenile delinquents. *Brazilian Journal of Medical and Biological Research, 37*(8), 1155-1160. Doi: 10.1590/S0100-879X2004000800005

Armenti, N. A., Snead, A. L., & Babcock, J. C. (2018). The role of trait anger in the relation between juvenile delinquency and intimate partner violence in adulthood. *Crime & Delinquency, 64*(5), 587-605. Doi: 10.1177/0011128716685813

Arnot, M., Arnot, M. L., & Usborne, C. (1999). *Gender and crime in modern Europe*. London: UCL Press.

Arthur, R. (2010). *Young offenders and the law: How the law responds to youth offending*. New York: Routledge.

Asscher, J., Put, C., & Stams, G. (2015). Gender differences in the impact of abuse and neglect victimization on adolescent offending behavior. *Journal of Family Violence, 30*(2), 215-225. Doi: 10.1007/s10896-014-9668-4

Bao, W., Haas, A., Chen, X., & Pi, Y. (2014). Repeated strains, social control, social learning, and delinquency. *Youth & Society, 46*(3), 402-424. Doi: 10.1177/0044118X11436189

Barn, R., & Tan, J. P. (2012). Foster youth and crime: Employing general strain theory to promote understanding. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 40*(3), 212-220. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2012.01.004

Baron, S. (2003). Self-control, social consequences, and criminal behavior: Street youth and the general theory of crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 40*(4), 403-425. Doi: 10.1177/0022427803256071

Baron, S. (2004). General strain, street youth and crime: A test of Agnew's revised theory. *Criminology, 42*(2), 457-483. Doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9125.2004.tb00526.x

Baron, S. (2006). Street youth, strain theory, and crime. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 34*(2), 209-223. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2006.01.001

Baron, S. (2009). Differential coercion, street youth, and violent crime. *Criminology, 47*(1), 239-268. Doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9125.2009.00144.x

Baron, S. W. (2003). Street youth, gender, financial strain, and crime: Exploring Broidy and Agnew's extension to general strain theory. *Deviant Behavior, 28*(3), 273-302. Doi: 10.1080/01639620701233217

Barrett, D., & Katsiyannis, A. (2017). The Clemson juvenile delinquency project: Major findings from a multi-agency study. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 26*(8), 2050-2058. Doi: 10.1007/s10826-017-0714-8

Bartek, S. E., Krebs, D. L., & Taylor, M. C. (1993) Coping, defending, and the relations between moral judgment and moral behavior in prostitutes and other female juvenile delinquents. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 102*(1), 66-73. Doi: 10.1037/0021-843X.102.1.66

Basto-Pereira, M., & Maia, Â. (2018). Persistence in crime in young adults with a history of juvenile delinquency: The role of mental health and psychosocial problems. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction, 16*(2), 496-506. Doi: 10.1007/s11469-017-9847-7

Bates, K. A., & Swan, R. S. (2014). *Juvenile delinquency in a diverse society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Baumrid, D. (1968). Child care practices, anteceding three patterns of preschool behavior. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 43-88.

Beaver, K. M. (2013). The familial concentration and transmission of crime. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 40*(2), 139-155. Doi: 10.1177/0093854812449405

Bengtson, V. L., & Harootyan, R. A. (1994). *Intergenerational linkages: hidden connections in American society*. New York: Springer Publishing.

Bernard, T. J., Vold, G. B., Snipes, J. B., & Gerould, A. L. (2010). *Vold's theoretical criminology* (6th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Besemer, S., & Farrington, D. (2012). Intergenerational transmission of criminal behavior: Conviction trajectories of fathers and their children. *European Journal of Criminology, 9*(2), 120-141.

Besemer, S., Farrington, D. P., & Bijleveld, C. J. H. (2013). Official bias in intergenerational transmission of criminal behaviour. *British Journal of Criminology, 53*(3), 438-455. Doi: 10.1093/bjc/azt006

Besemer, S., Farrington, D. P., Bijleveld, C. J. H., & Kaufman, J. (2017). Labeling and intergenerational transmission of crime: The interaction between criminal justice intervention and a convicted parent. *PLoS ONE, 12*(3) Doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0172419

Bichler, G., Christie-Merrall, J., & Sechrest, D. (2011). Examining juvenile delinquency within activity space: Building a context for offender travel patterns. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 48*(3), 472-506. Doi: 10.1177/0022427810393014

Blackman, J. S., & Dring, K. (2016). *Sexual aggression against children: Pedophiles' and abusers' development, dynamics, treatability, and the law*. New York: Routledge.

Blair, S. L., & Maxwell, S. R., (2015). *Violence and crime in the family: Patterns, causes, and consequences.* Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.

Blake, G. O. (2017). Using changes in U.S. immigration laws to estimate the effect of deportations on crime in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Social Science Quarterly, 98*(5), 1554-1570. Doi: 10.1111/ssqu.12385

Boutwell, B. B., & Beaver, K. M. (2010). The intergenerational transmission of low self-control. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 47*(2), 174-209. Doi: 10.1177/0022427809357715

Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame and reintegration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Broidy, L., Stewart, A., Thompson, C., Chrzanowski, A., Allard, T. and Dennison, S. (2015). Life course offending pathways across gender and race/ethnicity. *Journal of Developmental and Life Course Criminology,* 1, pp. 118-149.

Brown, M., & Carrabine, E. (2017). Introducing visual criminology. In M. Brown & E. Carrabine (eds). *Routledge international handbook of visual criminology*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 1-10.

Browning, K., Thornberry, T. P., & Porter, P. K. (1999). Highlights of findings from the Rochester Youth Development Study. OJJDP Fact Sheet No 103. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.

Bruner, J. S. (2002). *Making stories: Law, literature, life*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Burfeind, J. W., & Bartusch, D. J. (2011). *Juvenile delinquency: An integrated approach* (2nd ed.). London: Jones and Bartlett Publishers.

Bushong, R. E. (2013). Juvenile delinquency. *Wisconsin Medical Journal, 112*(1), 7.

Bynum, J. E., & Thompson, W. E. (2005). *Juvenile delinquency: A sociological approach* (6th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Calhoun, G. B. (2001). Differences between male and female juvenile offenders as measured by the BASC. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 33*(2), 87-96. Doi: 10.1300/J076v33n02_06

Cappellari, L., Polachek, S. W., & Tatsiramos, K. (2016). *Inequality: Causes and consequences*. Bingley, UK: Emerald.

Carey, D. (2013). *I ask for justice: Maya women, dictators, and crime in Guatemala, 1898-1944*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Casas Zamora, K. (2013). *Dangerous liaisons: Organized crime and political finance in Latin America and beyond*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Cassé, J. F. H., Finkenauer, C., Oosterman, M., van der Geest, V. R., & Schuengel, C. (2018). Family conflict and resilience in parenting self-efficacy among high-risk mothers. *Journal of ma Violence, 33*(6), Doi: 1008-1029. 10.1177/0886260515614280

Chalk, P. (2011). *The Latin American drug trade scope, dimensions, impact, and response*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.

Chambliss, W. J. (2011). *Juvenile crime and justice*. London: Sage.

Chant, S. (2007). *Gender, generation and poverty.* Northhampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Chauhan, P., Reppucci, N. D., & Turkheimer, E. N. (2009). Racial differences in the associations of neighborhood disadvantage, exposure to violence, and criminal recidivism among female juvenile offenders. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law, 27*(4), 531-552. Doi: 10.1002/bsl.868

Chauhan, P., Reppucci, N. D., Burnette, M., & Reiner, S. (2010). Race, neighborhood disadvantage, and antisocial behavior among female juvenile offenders. *Journal of Community Psychology, 38*(4), 532-540. Doi: 10.1002/jcop.20377

Chesney-Lind, (1998). *Girls, delinquency, and juvenile justice.* Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing.

Chesney-Lind, M., & Jones, N. (2010). *Fighting for girls: New perspectives on gender and violence*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Chesney-Lind, M., & Pasko, L. (2013). *The female offender: Girls, women, and crime* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Chesney-Lind, M., & Shelden, R. G. (2014). *Girls, delinquency, and juvenile justice* (4th ed.). Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Clements-Nolle, K., Larson, S., Buttar, A., & Dermid-Gray, L. (2017). Childhood maltreatment and unprotected sex among female juvenile offenders: Evidence of mediation by substance abuse and psychological distress. *Women's Health Issues, 27*(2), 188-195. Doi: 10.1016/j.whi.2016.12.004

Coello Gutiérrez, E. (2013). La pista de hielo (1993) in the context of the new Latin American crime story. *Mitologías Hoy, 7*(1), 75. Doi: 10.5565/rev/mitologias.114

Colman, R.A, Kim, D.H., Mitchell-Herzfeld, S., & Shady, T.A. (2009). Delinquent girls grown up: Young adult offending patterns and their relation to early legal, individual, and family risk. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(3), 355-366. Doi: 10.1007/s10964-008-9341-4

Conger, R., Neppl, T., Jeong Kim, K., & Scaramella, L. (2003), Angry and aggressive behaviour across three generations: A prospective, longitudinal study of parents and children, *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 31,* 143-60.

Connelly, F.M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher, 19*(5), 2-14.

Connolly, E. J., Schwartz, J. A., Jackson, D. B., & Beaver, K. M. (2018). How far does the apple fall from the tree? Maternal delinquency and sex-specific patterns of offspring delinquent behavior. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 54,* 50-61. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2017.12.004

Creswell, J.W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*, (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Crossley, M. (2000). *Introducing narrative psychology: Self, trauma and the construction of meaning*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Cruz, J. M. (2007) Organized civil society and gangs: Alternative responses by Central American Organizations. In *Street gangs in Central America*, edited by J. M. Cruz, (pp. 133-168). San Salvador: UCA Editores.

Cruz, J. M. (2017). Central American gangs like MS-13 were born out of failed anti-crime policies. *The Conversation*, 9 May.

Cui, M., Gordon, M., & Wickrama, K. A. S. (2016). Romantic relationship experiences of adolescents and young adults. *Journal of Family Issues, 37*(10), 1458-1480. Doi: 10.1177/0192513X14540158

Cullen, F. T., Agnew, R., & Wilcox, P. (2014). *Criminological theory: Past to present, essential readings* (5th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Cunneen, C. & White, R. (2015). *Juvenile justice: Youth and crime in Australia.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Cunningham, W., & Cunningham, W. V. (2008). *Youth at risk in Latin America and the Caribbean: Understanding the causes, realizing the potential*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

D'Unger, A. V., Land, C. K., & McCall, P. L. (2002). Sex differences in age patterns of delinquent/criminal careers: results from Poisson latent class analyses of the Philadelphia Cohort Study. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 18*, 349-375.

Dahlstedt, M., & Lozic, V. (2017). Managing urban unrest: Problematising juvenile delinquency in multi-ethnic Sweden. *Critical and Radical Social Work an International Journal, 5*(2), 207-222. Doi: 10.1332/204986017X14933953111175

Daly, K. (1998). *Gender, crime, and criminology. The handbook of crime and punishment.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Dammert, L., & Malone, M. F. T. (2006). Does it take a village? Policing strategies and fear of crime in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society, 48*(4), 27-51. Doi: 10.1111/j.1548-2456.2006.tb00364.x

Danelo, D. J. (2017). *The field researcher's handbook: A guide to the art and science of professional fieldwork.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Datchi, C. C., & Ancis, J. R. (2017). *Gender, psychology, and justice: The mental health of women and girls in the legal system*. New York: New York University Press.

Defazio, P. (2010). *Longitudinal peer influences on female juvenile offenders: A quantitative study*, PhD Dissertation, Capella University, available at ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

DeLisi, M., Angton, A., Behnken, M. P., & Kusow, A. M. (2015). Do adolescent drug users fare the worst? Onset type, juvenile delinquency, and criminal careers. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 59*(2), 180-195. Doi: 10.1177/0306624X13505426

Denzin, N. K. (1999). Interpretive ethnography for the next century. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *28*(5), 510-519. Doi: 10.1177/0891241991290123631

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Diaz, C. J. (2014). Social mobility in the context of fathering: The intergenerational link in parenting among co-resident fathers. *Social Science Research*, *47*, 1-15. Doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.03.008

Dong, B., & Krohn, M. D. (2015). Exploring intergenerational discontinuity in problem behavior. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 13*(2), 99-122. Doi: 10.1177/1541204014527119

Douglas, N., & Plugge, E. (2000). The health needs of imprisoned female juvenile offenders: The views of the young women prisoners and youth justice professionals. *International Journal of Prisoner Health, 4*(2), 66-76. Doi: 10.1080/17449200802038256

Eitle, D. (2010). General strain theory, persistence, and desistance among young adult males. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38*(6). Doi: 1113-1121. 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.08.003

Elliott, D. S., Huizinga, D., & Menard, S. (1989). Multiple problem youth: Delinquency, substance use, and mental health problems. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.

Esbensen, F. A., Huizinga, D., & Menard, S. (1999). Family context and criminal victimization in adolescence. *Youth and Society, 31*(2), 168-198.

Fang, X., & Corso, P. S. (2007). Child maltreatment, youth violence, and intimate partner violence: Developmental relationships. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 33*(4), 281-290. Doi: 10.1016/j.ameore.2007.06.003

Farrington, D. (2004). Continuities in antisocial behaviour and parenting across three generations. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 45*, 230-247.

Farrington, D. (2007). Advancing knowledge about desistance. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 23*, 125-134.

Fergusson, D. M., & Horwood, L. J. (1998). Exposure to interparental violence in childhood and psychosocial adjustment in young adulthood. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 22*, 339-357.

Fleisher, M. S. (2000). *Dead end kids gang girls and the boys they know*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Flowers, R. B. (2002). *Kids who commit adult crimes: Serious criminality by juvenile offenders*. New York: Routledge.

Foster, H. (2012). The strains of maternal imprisonment: Importation and deprivation stressors for women and children. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 40*(3), 221-229. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2012.01.005

Foster, H., & Hagan, J. (2009). The mass incarceration of parents in America: Issues of race/ethnicity, collateral damage to children, and prisoner re-entry. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 623*(1), 179-194. Doi: 10.1177/0002716208331123

Franco, M. S. (2013). *La vanguardia*. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from http://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/20130702/54376464422/entrevista-lucia-perez-mara-salvatrucha.html

Frisell, T., Lichtenstein, P., & Långström, N. (2011). Violent crime runs in families: A total population study of 12.5 million individuals. *Psychological Medicine, 41,* 97-105.

Froggio, G., & Agnew, R. (2007). The relationship between crime and "objective"' versus "subjective" strains. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 35*(1), 81-87. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2006.11.017

Funes, F. (2008). Removal of Central American gang members: How immigration laws fail to reflect global reality. *University of Miami Law Review, 63*(301), 301-338.

Gage, N. A., Josephs, N. L., & Lunde, K. (2012). Girls with emotional disturbance and a history of arrest: Characteristics and school-based predictors of arrest. *Education and Treatment of Children, 35*(4), 603-622. Doi: 10.1353/etc.2012.0026

Gallupe, O., & Baron, S. (2009). Street youth, relational strain, and drug use. *Journal of Drug Issues, 39*(3), 523-545. Doi: 10.1177/002204260903900304

Gifford, E., Eldred, L., Evans, K., & Sloan, F. A. (2016). Criminally involved parents who misuse substances and children's odds of being arrested as a young adult: Do drug treatment courts mitigate the risk? *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 25*(8), 2447-2457. Doi: 10.1007/s10826-016-0406-9

Giordano, P. C. (2010). *Legacies of crime: A follow-up of the children of highly delinquent girls and boys*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Giorgi, A. (2009). The descriptive phenomenological method in psychology: A modified Husserlian approach. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine Publishing Company.

Gonzalez-Mendez, R., Martín, A. M., & Hernández-Abrante, L. (2014). At the end of a fairy tale: Romantic relationships in female juvenile offenders. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 1-16. Doi: 10.1080/14789949.2014.943794

Government Accountability Office (GAO). (2010). *Combating gangs: Better coordination and performance measurement would help clarify roles of federal agencies and strengthen assessment of efforts.* GAO-09-708. Washington, DC: GAO.

Grebstein, L. C., & Van Wyk, J. A. (2015). *Turning the tide of male juvenile delinquency the ocean tides approach*. New York: Springer Publishing.

Greenwald, R. (2012). *Trauma and juvenile delinquency: Theory, research, and interventions*. New York: Routledge.

Guthrie, B. J., Cooper, S. M., Brown, C., & Metzger, I. (2012). Degrees of difference among minority female juvenile offenders' psychological functioning, risk behavior engagement, and health status: A latent profile investigation. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved, 23*(1), 204-225. Doi: 10.1353/hpu.2012.0016

Halsey, M., & Deegan, S. (2012). Father and son: Two generations through prison. *Punishment & Society, 14*(3), 338-367. Doi: 10.1177/1462474512442315

Haney, L. (2010). *Offending women power, punishment, and the regulation of desire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Harcourt, G. (1998). *A second edition of Keynes's general theory.* Canterbury: Routledge.

Hay, C., & Evans, M. M. (2006). Violent victimization and involvement in delinquency: Examining predictions from general strain theory. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 34*(3), Doi: 261-274. 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2006.03.005

Hay, C., & Meldrum, R. (2010). Bullying victimization and adolescent self-harm: Testing hypotheses from general strain theory. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 39*(5), 446-459. Doi: 10.1007/s10964-009-9502-0

Hess, M., Ittel, A., & Sisler, A. (2014). Gender-specific macro- and micro-level processes in the transmission of gender role orientation in adolescence: The role of fathers. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology,* 1-16. Doi: 10.1080/17405629.2013.879055

Higgins, G. E., Piquero, N. L., & Piquero, A. R. (2011). General strain theory, peer rejection, and delinquency/crime. *Youth & Society, 43*(4), 1272-1297. Doi: 10.1177/0044118X10382032

Hobbs, D. (1997). *Youth gangs, subcultures, professional criminals and organized crime.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoge, R. D., Guerra, N., & Boxer, P. (2008). *Treating the juvenile offender*. New York: Guilford Press.

Hojman, D. (2004). Inequality, unemployment and crime in Latin American cities. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 41*(1), 33-51.

Holmes, J. (2010). Female offending: Has there been an increase? Issue Paper No 46, Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research. Sydney: BOCSAR.

Holmqvist, G. (2017). Latin American crime and the issue of inequality. *Iberoamericana: Nordic Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, 30*(2), 23. Doi: 10.16993/ibero.375

Hope, T.L., Wilder, E.I., & Watt, T.T. (2003). The relationships among adolescent pregnancy, pregnancy resolution, and juvenile delinquency. *The Sociological Quarterly, 44*(4), 555–576.

Horton, R., Rice, S. K., Piquero, N. L., & Piquero, A. R. (2004). On the variability of anger cross-culturally: An assessment of general strain theory's primary mediator. *Deviant Behavior, 33*(4), 260-281. Doi: 10.1080/01639625.2011.573415

Hotz, V. J., Mullin, C.H., & Sanders, S. G. (1997). Bounding causal effects using data from a contaminated natural experiment: Analyzing the effects of teenage childbearing. *Review of Economic Studies, 64*(4), 575-603.

Howell, J. C. (2003). *Preventing and reducing juvenile delinquency: A comprehensive framework*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

http://libguides.unitec.ac.nz/apareferencing/webpages

https://alfarero.org.gt/

Huang, H., & Ryan, J. P. (2014). The location of placement and juvenile delinquency: Do neighborhoods matter in child welfare? *Children and Youth Services Review, 44*, 33-45. Doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2014.05.023

Huck, J. L., Spraitz, J. D., Bowers, J. H., & Morris, C. S. (2017). Connecting opportunity and strain to understand deviant behavior: A test of general strain theory. *Deviant Behavior, 38*(9), 1009-1026. Doi: 10.1080/01639625.2016.1237827

Huertas, L. E., Lucero, B., & Swedberg, G. J. (2016). *Voices of crime: Constructing and contesting social control in modern Latin America*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Hussain, S., Batool, I., Khan, F., & Bajwa, R. S. (2017). Self-concept and social anxiety among male and female juvenile delinquents. *Pakistan Journal of Life and Social Sciences, 15*(1), 18-23.

Isales, C. (2004). *The relationship between intergenerational paternal patterns and individual behavior of gang members: An application of Bowen family systems theory,* Doctor of Psychology, Alliant International University, available at ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Jang, S. J., & Song, J. (2015). A "rough test" of a delinquent coping process model of general strain theory. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 43*(6), 419-430. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2015.08.003

Jones, N. (2011). *Merging theoretical frameworks to inform risk assessment for the young female offender*. PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Jones, N. J., Brown, S. L., Wanamaker, K. A., & Greiner, L. E. (2014). A quantitative exploration of gendered pathways to crime in a sample of male and female juvenile offenders. *Feminist Criminology, 9*(2), 113-136. Doi: 10.1177/1557085113501850

Junger, M., Greene, J., Schipper, R., Hesper, F., & Estourgie, V. (2013). Parental criminality, family violence and intergenerational transmission of crime within a birth cohort. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, 19*(2), 117-133. Doi: 10.1007/s10610-012-9193-z

Kandel, D. B. (1990). Parenting styles, drug use, and children's adjustment in families in young adults. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 52*(1), 183-196.

Kaplan, M., Sanchez, M., & Hoffman, J. (2016). *Intergenerational pathways to a sustainable society*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Kerig, P. (2013). *Psychological trauma and juvenile delinquency: New directions in research and intervention*. London: Routledge.

Kerig, P. K. (2014). Introduction: For better or worse: Intimate relationships as sources of risk or resilience for girls' delinquency. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 24*(1), 1-11. Doi: 10.1111/jora.12076

Khurana, A., & Gavazzi, S. M. (2011). Juvenile delinquency and adolescent fatherhood. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 55*(5), 756. Doi: 10.1177/0306624X10372109

Kim, H. K., Capaldi, D. M., Pears, K. C., Kerr, D. C. R., & Owen, L. D. (2009). Intergenerational transmission of internalising and externalising behaviours across three generations: Gender-specific pathways. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, 19*(2), 125-141. Doi: 10.1002/cbm.708

Kratcoski, P. C. (2012). *Juvenile justice administration*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Krause, K. (2014). Supporting the iron fist: Crime news, public opinion, and authoritarian crime control in Guatemala. *Latin American Politics and Society, 56*(1), 98-119. Doi: 10.1111/j.1548-2456.2014.00224.x

Kury, H., Redo, S., & Shea, E. (2016). *Women and children as victims and offenders: Suggestions for succeeding generations (volume 2).* Cham, Switzerland: Springer Publishing.

Lacey, N. (2008). *Women, crime, and character: From Moll Flanders to Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lahey, B., Hulle, C., Waldman, I., Rodgers, J., D'Onofrio, B., Pedlow, S., Keenan, K. (2006). Testing descriptive hypotheses regarding sex differences in the development of conduct problems and delinquency. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *35*(4), 682. Doi: 10.1007/s10802-007-9124-5

Laible, D. L., & Carlo, G. (2004). The differential relations of maternal and paternal support and control to adolescent social competence, self-worth and sympathy. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 19*(6), 759-782. FIX ALPHA ORDER ***

Langton, L., & Piquero, N. L. (2007). Can general strain theory explain white-collar crime? A preliminary investigation of the relationship between strain and select white-collar

offenses. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 35*(1), 1-15. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2006.11.011

Laub, J. H., Nagin, D. S., & Sampson, R. J. (1998). Trajectories of change in criminal offending: Good marriages and the desistance process. *American Sociological Review, 63*, 225-238.

Laurikkala, M. K. (2011). *Juvenile homicides a social disorganization perspective*. El Paso TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing.

Lawrence, J., & Starkey, P. (2001). *Child welfare and social action in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries international perspectives*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Leve, L. D., & Chamberlain, P. (2004). Female juvenile offenders: Defining an early-onset pathway for delinquency. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 13*(4), 439-452.

Leve, L. D., Khurana, A., & Reich, E. B. (2015). Intergenerational transmission of maltreatment: A multilevel examination. *Development and Psychopathology, 27*(4), 1429. Doi: 10.1017/S0954579415000851

Levenson, D. (1998). *On their own: A preliminary study of youth gangs in Guatemala City. Cuadernos de Investigación.* Guatemala City: Asociación para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales en Guatemala.

Ley Orgánica del Ministerio Publico. (2000). Decreto 133-2000, Ciudad de Guatemala.

Lin, W., & Yi, C. (2016). Family and school strains and their effects on adolescent deviance in Taiwan. *Youth & Society, 48*(4), 496-520. Doi: 10.1177/0044118X13499595

Lind, B. (1998). *Poverty, peers and crime-prone neighbourhoods*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Lippold, M. A., Hussong, A., Fosco, G. M., & Ram, N. (2018). Lability in the parent's hostility and warmth toward their adolescent: Linkages to youth delinquency and substance use. *Developmental Psychology, 54*(2), 348-361. Doi: 10.1037/dev0000415

Little, W. E., & Smith, T. J. (2009). *Mayas in postwar Guatemala harvest of violence revisited*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Lo, C. C., Cheng, T. C., Bohm, M., & Zhong, H. (2018). Rural-to-urban migration, strain, and juvenile delinquency: A study of eighth-grade students in Guangzhou, China. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 62*(2), 334-359. Doi: 10.1177/0306624X16650236

Loader, I. (1996). *Youth, policing and democracy.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Loeber, R. (1996). Academic performance and delinquency. *Crime and Justice, 20,* 145-264.

Loeber, R. (2003). *Child delinquency: Early intervention and prevention.* Washington D.C: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Lomborg, B. (2009). *Latin American development priorities*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lovegrove, P. (2010). *Explaining discontinuous cross-generational patterns of delinquency,* PhD Dissertation, University of Colorado, available at ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Magdol, L., Moffitt, T., Caspi, A., & Silva, P. A. (1998). Developmental antecedents of partner abuse: A prospective-longitudinal study. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 107*(3), 375-389. Doi: 10.1037/0021-843X.107.3.375

Mallicoat, S. L., & Ireland, C. (2013). *Women and crime: The essentials*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Malone, M. (2012). *The rule of law in Central America: Citizens reactions to crime and punishment.* New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Marenin, O. (1995). Explaining crime in developing countries: The need for a case study approach. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 23,* 191-214.

Margolin, G. (1998). Effects of domestic violence on children. In P. K. Trickett & C. J. Schellengach (Eds.), *Violence against children in the family and community* (pp. 57-102). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Markowitz, F. (2001). Attitudes and family violence: Linking intergenerational and cultural theories. *Journal of Family Violence, 16*(2), 205-218.

Martinez, R., & Valenzuela, A. (2006). *Immigration and crime race, ethnicity, and violence*. New York: New York University Press.

Mason, M. (2010) Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. *Qualitative Social Research, 11*(3), 1438-5627.

Matsuura, N., Hashimoto, T., & Toichi, M. (2017). Associations among adverse childhood experiences, aggression, depression, and self-esteem in serious female juvenile offenders in Japan. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology, 24*(1), 111-127. Doi: 10.1080/14789949.2012.746384

Mazerolle, P., Piquero, A., & Capowich, G. (2003). Examining the links between strain, situational and dispositional anger, and crime: Further specifying and testing general strain theory. *Youth & Society, 35*(2), 131-157. Doi: 10.1177/0044118X03255029

McGrath, S. A., Nilsen, A. A., & Kerley, K. R. (2011). Sexual victimization in childhood and the propensity for juvenile delinquency and adult criminal behavior: A systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 16*(6), 485-492. Doi: 10.1016/j.avb.2011.03.008

Meldrum, R. C., Connolly, G. M., Flexon, J., & Guerette, R. T. (2016). Parental low self-control, family environments, and juvenile delinquency. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 60*(14), 1623-1644. Doi: 10.1177/0306624X15584907

Meldrum, R. C., Young, J. T. N., & Lehmann, P. S. (2015). Parental low self-control, parental socialization, young adult low self-control, and offending. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 42*(11), 1183-1199. Doi: 10.1177/0093854815595662

Ménard, K. S., & Arter, M. L. (2013). Police officer alcohol use and trauma symptoms: Associations with critical incidents, coping, and social stressors. *International Journal of Stress Management, 20*(1), 37-56. Doi: 10.1037/a0031434

Menting, A. T. A., Castro, O. D., Wijngaards-De Meij, Leoniek D. N. V., & Matthys, W. (2013). A trial of parent training for mothers being released from incarceration and their children. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology, 43*(3), 1-16. Doi: 10.1080/15374416.2013.817310

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Miller-Johnson, S., Winn, D. M., Coie, J., Maumary-Gremaud, A., Hyman, C., Terry, R., Lochman, J. (1999). Motherhood during the teen years: A developmental perspective on risk factors for childbearing. *Development and Psychopathology, 11*(1), 85-100.

Miller, L. (2010). *Gender-specific programs for female juvenile offenders: Purpose, practice, and perceived success*, PhD Dissertation, University of Nevada, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Miller, S., Malone, P. S., & Dodge, K. A. (2010). Developmental trajectories of boys' and girls' delinquency: Sex differences and links to later adolescent outcomes. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 38*, 1021-1032.

Millett, L. S., Kohl, P. L., Jonson-Reid, M., Drake, B., & Petra, M. (2013). Child maltreatment victimization and subsequent perpetration of young adult intimate partner violence. *Child Maltreatment, 18*(2), 71-84. Doi: 10.1177/1077559513484821

Moitra, T., Mukherjee, I., & Chatterjee, G. (2018). Parenting behavior and juvenile delinquency among low-income families. *Victims & Offenders, 13*(3), 336-348. Doi: 10.1080/15564886.2017.1323062

Molidor, C., Nissen, L., & Watkins, T. (2002). The development of theory and treatment with substance abusing female juvenile offenders. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 19*(3), 209-225. Doi: 1015528031152

Monk-Turner, E. (1998). Effects of high school delinquency on educational attainment and adult occupational status. *Sociological Perspectives, 32*(3), 413-418.

Moon, B., & Morash, M. (2013). General strain theory as a basis for the design of school interventions. *Crime & Delinquency, 59*(6), 886-909. Doi: 10.1177/0011128712466949

Moon, B., & Morash, M. (2017). A test of general strain theory in South Korea: A focus on objective/subjective strains, negative emotions, and composite conditioning factors. *Crime & Delinquency, 63*(6), 731-756. Doi: 10.1177/0011128716686486

Moon, B., Morash, M., McCluskey, C. P., & Hwang, H. (2007). A comprehensive test of general strain theory. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 46*(2), 182-212. Doi: 10.1177/0022427808330873

Morash, M., & Moon, B. (2007). Gender differences in the effects of strain on the delinquency of South Korean youth. *Youth & Society, 38*(3), 300-321. Doi: 10.1177/0044118X06287861

Morse, J. M. (1994). Designing funded qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.), (pp. 220-235). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Moser, C. (2005). *The urban poor in Latin America.* Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Murray, J. (2007). The cycle of punishment: Social exclusion of prisoners and their children. *Criminology and Criminal Justice, 7*(1), 55-81. Doi: 10.1177/1748895807072476

Murray, J., Janson, C., & Farrington, D. P. (2007). Crime in adult offspring of prisoners. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 34*(1), 133-149. Doi: 10.1177/0093854806289549

Murray, J., Loeber, R., & Pardini, D. (2012). Parental involvement in the criminal justice system and the development of youth theft, marijuana use, depression, and poor academic performance. *Criminology, 50*(1), 255-302. Doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9125.2011.00257.x

Ness, C. D. (2010). *Why girls fight: Female youth violence in the inner city*. New York: New York University Press.

Noszczyk-Bernasiewicz, M. (2012). Demoralization and juvenile delinquency: The dynamics and dimensions. *Polish Journal of Social Rehabilitation, 11*, 137-154. Doi: 10.22432/pjsr.2016.11.11

Odgers, C. L., Moffitt, T. E., Broadbent, J. M., Dickson, N., Hancox, R. J., & Harrington, H. (2008). Female and male antisocial trajectories: From childhood origins to adult outcomes. *Development and Psychopathology, 20*(2), 673-716. Doi: 10.1017/s0954579408000333

Odgers, C. L., Moretti, M. M., Burnette, M. L., Chauhan, P., Waite, D., & Reppucci, N. D. (2007). A latent variable modeling approach to identifying subtypes of serious and violent female juvenile offenders. *Aggressive Behavior, 33*(4), 339-352. Doi: 10.1002/ab.20190

Ostrowsky, M., & Messner, S. (2005). Explaining crime for a young adult population: An application of general strain theory. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 33*(5), 463-476. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2005.06.004

Pallone, N. J. (1994). *Young victims, young offenders: Current issues in policy and treatment*. New York: Haworth Press.

Park, A., Smith, C., & Ireland, T. (2012). Equivalent harm? The relative roles of maltreatment and exposure to intimate partner violence in antisocial outcomes for

young adults. *Children and Youth Services Review, 34*(5), 962-972. Doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2012.01.029

Patton, J. D. (2009). Working with female juvenile delinquents: What youth practitioners need to know. *Journal of Youth Development, 3*(2), 77-88. Doi: 10.5195/jyd.2008.308

Peace Pledge Union Information. (PPUI), (2011). Genocide: Guatemala. Retrieved from http://www.ppu.org.uk/genocide/g_guatemala.html

Pease, A., & Pease, B. (2004). *The definitive book of body language*. London: Orion.

Pechorro, P., Ayala-Nunes, L., Nunes, C., Maia, Â, & Gonçalves, R. A. (2017). The Barratt impulsiveness scale among a Portuguese sample of female juvenile delinquents and community youths. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health, 16*(1), 46-57. Doi: 10.1080/14999013.2016.1235627

Pechorro, P., Gonçalves, R. A., Marôco, J., Nunes, C., & Jesus, S. N. (2014). Age of crime onset and psychopathic traits in female juvenile delinquents. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 58*(9), 1101-1119. Doi: 10.1177/0306624X13489864

Pechorro, P., Maroco, J., Ray, J. V., Gonçalves, R. A., & Nunes, C. (2018). A brief measure of narcissism among female juvenile delinquents and community youths. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 62*(8), 2292-2311. Doi: 10.1177/0306624X17700855

Pechorro, P., Poiares, C., Barroso, R., Nunes, C., & Jesus, S. N. (2015). Examining ethnic differences in self-reported psychopathic traits among Portuguese male juvenile offenders. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 59*(1), 68-84. Doi: 10.1177/0306624X13502942

Pereira, M. B., Maia, A. D. C. (2017). *Juvenile delinquency, crime and social marginalization: Social and political implications*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing.

Peres, B. S. (2010). *Growth, employment, and equity: The impact of the economic reforms in Latin America and the Caribbean.* Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Pérez, D. M., Jennings, W. G., & Gover, A. R. (2008). Specifying general strain theory: An ethnically relevant approach. *Deviant Behavior, 29*(6), 544-578. Doi: 10.1080/01639620701839385

Perez, J., Turcios, L., & Farina, F. (2008). Emotional climate, civic culture and fear to crime in four Latin American nations. *International Journal of Psychology, 43*(3-4), 591.

Periodico. (2017). Zona 3 Guajero. *Journal EL Periodico Guatemala, 11*(3).

Piccato, P. (2017). *A history of infamy: Crime, truth, and justice in Mexico*. Ewing: University of California Press.

Pledge Union Information. (2011). Genocide Guatemala. Retrieved from http://www.ppu.org.uk/genocide/g_guatemala.html

Policia Nacional Civil. (2007). Informe estadístico de la violencia en Guatemala, PNUD, Guatemala, Diciembre.

Potter- House. (2017). Casa del Alfarero Guatemala. Retrieved from https://alfarero.org.gt/

Poulton, R., Moffitt, T. E., & Silva, P. A. (2015). The Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Study: Overview of the first 40 years, with an eye to the future. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 50*(5), 679-693.

Presser, L. (2009). The narratives of offenders. *Theoretical Criminology*, *13*, 177-200. Doi: 10.1177/1362480609102878

Rebellon, C. J., Manasse, M. E., Van Gundy, K. T., & Cohn, E. S. (2012). Perceived injustice and delinquency: A test of general strain theory. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 40*(3), 230-237. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2012.02.001

Reed, K., Nugent, W., & Cooper, R. (2015). Testing a path model of relationships between gender, age, and bullying victimization and violent behavior, substance abuse,

depression, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts in adolescents. *Children and Youth Services Review, 55*, 128-137. Doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2015.05.016

Reid, J. A. (2012). *A girl's path to prostitution linking caregiver adversity to child susceptibility*. El Paso: LFB Scholarly Publishing.

Rhoades, K. A., Leve, L. D., Eddy, J. M., & Chamberlain, P. (2016). Predicting the transition from juvenile delinquency to adult criminality: Gender-specific influences in two high-risk samples. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, 26*(5), 336-351. Doi: 10.1002/cbm.1957

Rhule, D. M., McMahon, R. J., & Spieker, S. J. (2004). Relation of adolescent mothers' history of antisocial behavior to child conduct problems and social competence. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology, 33*(3), 524-535. Doi: 10.1207/s15374424jccp3303_10

Robins, L. N., & Lewis, R. G. (1966). The role of the antisocial family in school completion and delinquency: A three-generation study. *Sociological Quarterly. 7*(4), 500–514.

Robins, L. N., West, P. A., & Herjanic, B.L. (1975). Arrests and delinquency in two generations: A study of black urban families and their children. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 16*(2), 125–140.

Rodríguez, I. (2009). *Liberalism at its limits : Crime and terror in the latin american cultural text*. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Routt, G., & Anderson, L. (2014). *Adolescent violence in the home : Restorative approaches to building healthy, respectful family relationships* (First edition.. ed.). New York: Routledge.

Rubio, Mauricio (2007) De la pandilla a la mara: Pobreza, educación, mujeres y violencia juvenil. Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia.

Rushforth, C., & Willis, K. (2003). The female criminal: An overview of women's drug use and offending behaviour. *Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice.* No 264. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Ryan, G., Lane, S. L., & Leversee, T. F. (2010). *Juvenile sexual offending : Causes, consequences, and correction* (3rd ed.. ed.). Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley.

Salazar, L.F. (2015). Situacion en el basurero de la zona 3. Retrieved from

Sanger, D., Ritzman, M., Schaefer, L., & Belau, D. (2010). Female juvenile delinquents' reactions to a reading program: A mixed methods study. *Communication Disorders Quarterly, 32*(1), 26-37. Doi:10.1177/1525740109336871

Santamaria, G., Carey, D., Davis, D. E., Menjavar, C. (2017). *Violence and crime in Latin America: Representations and politics*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Savage, J., Palmer, J., & Martin, A. (2014). Intergenerational transmission: Physical abuse and violent vs nonviolent criminal outcomes. *Journal of Family Violence, 29*(7), 739-748. Doi: 10.1007/s10896-014-9629-y

Schensul, S. L., Schensul, J. J., & LeCompte, M. D. (2013). Initiating ethnographic research: A mixed methods approach.

Schroeder, R. D., Osgood, A. K., & Oghia, M. J. (2010). Family transitions and juvenile delinquency. *Sociological Inquiry, 80*(4), 579-604. Doi: 10.1111/j.1475-682X.2010.00351.x

Semel, R. A. (2010). Incorporating the Jesness inventory-revised (JI-R) in a best-practice model of juvenile delinquency assessments. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice, 16*(1), 1-23. Doi: 10.1080/15228932.2016.1119516

Shaw, D. (2003). Advancing our understanding of intergenerational continuity in antisocial behavior. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 31*(2), 193-199.

Shortt, J. W., Capaldi, D. M., Kim, H., & Tiberio, S. S. (2013). The interplay between interpersonal stress and psychological intimate partner violence over time for young

at-risk couples. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 42*(4), 619-632. Doi: 10.1007/s10964-013-9911-y

Sigfusdottir, I. D., Kristjansson, A. L., & Agnew, R. (2012). A comparative analysis of general strain theory. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 40*(2), 117-127. Doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2012.01.001

Sigfusdottir, I., Farkas, G., & Silver, E. (2004). The role of depressed mood and anger in the relationship between family conflict and delinquent behavior. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 33*(6), 509-522. JOYO.0000048065.17118.63

Silverman, J. R., & Caldwell, R. M. (2008). Peer relationships and violence among female juvenile offenders. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 35*(3), 333-343. Doi: 10.1177/0093854807311114

Simmons, C., Steinberg, L., Frick, P. J., & Cauffman, E. (2018). The differential influence of absent and harsh fathers on juvenile delinquency. *Journal of Adolescence, 62*, 9-17. 10.1016/j.adolescence.2017.10.010

Simons, R., Lin, K., & Gordon, L. C. (2002) Socialization in the family of origin and male dating violence: A prospective study. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 60*(2), 467-478.

Simons, R., Wu, C., Lin, K., Gordon, L., & Conger, R. D. (2016). A cross-cultural examination of the link between corporal punishment and adolescent antisocial behavior. *Criminology, 38*(1), 47-79. Doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9125.2000.tb00883.x

Sipsma, H., Biello, K. B., Cole-Lewis, H., & Kershaw, T. (2010). Like father, like son: The intergenerational cycle of adolescent fatherhood. *American Journal of Public Health, 100*(3), 517. Doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2009.177600

Sipsma, H., Ickovics, J., Lin, H., & Kershaw, T. (2012). Future expectations among adolescents: A latent class analysis. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 50*(1), 169-181. Doi: 10.1007/s10464-011-9487-1

Springer, D. W., & Roberts, A. R. (2010). *Juvenile justice and delinquency*. Sudbury, MA: Jones and Bartlett Publishers.

Sprott, J. B., Doob, A. N., & Zimring, F. E. (2009). *Justice for girls? stability and change in the youth justice systems of the united states and canada*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sung, J. J. & Agnew, R. (2015). Strain theories and crime (pp. 495-500). In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, J. D. Wright (ed.). New York: Elsevier. DOI: 10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.45088-9

Suresh, K.P. & Chandrashekara, S. (2012). Sample size estimation and power analysis for clinical research studies. *Journal of Human Reproductive Sciences, 5*(1), 7-13. Doi: 10.4103/0974-1208.97779

Sutherland, E. (1947). *Principles of criminology* (4th ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Swisher, R. R., & Dennison, C. R. (2016). Educational pathways and change in crime between adolescence and early adulthood. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *53*(6), 840-871. Doi: 10.1177/0022427816645380

Taşkıran, S., Mutluer, T., Tufan, A. E., & Semerci, B. (2005). Understanding the associations between psychosocial factors and severity of crime in juvenile delinquency: A cross-sectional study. *Neuropsychiatric Disease and Treatment, 13*, 1359-1366. Doi: 10.2147/NDT.S129517

Taylor, E. K., & Borduin, C. M. (2014). The family context of relational aggression in "Difficult to treat" female juvenile offenders. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 40*(3), 357-366. Doi: 10.1111/jmft.12038

Tedor, M., Sharp, S., & Kobayashi, E. (2015). A cross-cultural examination of the disjuncture between aspirations and expectations/perceived outcomes: Strain and academic deviance in the United States and Japan. *Sociological Inquiry, 85*(3), 462-491. Doi: 10.1111/soin.12087

Thaxton, S., & Agnew, R. (2004). The nonlinear effects of parental and teacher attachment on delinquency: Disentangling strain from social control explanations. *Justice Quarterly, 21*(4), 763-791. Doi: 10.1080/07418820400095981

Thornberry TP, Smith CA, Howard GJ. (1997) Risk factors for teenage fatherhood. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 59*(8), 505–522.

Thornberry, T. P. (2005). Explaining multiple patterns of offending across the life and course and across generations. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 602*, 156-195. Doi: 10.1177/0005716205280641

Thornberry, T. P., & Henry, K. (2013). Intergenerational continuity in maltreatment. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 41*(4), 555-569. Doi: 10.1007/s10802-012-9697-5

Thornberry, T. P., Freeman-Gallant, A., & Lovegrove, P. (2009a). The impact of parental stressors on the intergenerational transmission of antisocial behavior. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(3), 312-322. Doi: 10.1007/s10964-008-9337-0

Thornberry, T. P., Freeman-Gallant, A., & Lovegrove, P. J. (2009b). Intergenerational linkages in antisocial behaviour. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, 19*(2), 80-93. Doi: 10.1002/cbm.709

Tracy, P. E., & Kempf-Leonard, K. (1996). Continuity and discontinuity in criminal careers. New York: Plenum.

Tracy, S. J. (2013). *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact.* West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Trujillo, L.R. (2012). *A forgotten Wasteland: The Guatemalan City Garbage Dump Community.* Dissertation, The University of Arizona, available at ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Tzoumakis, S., Lussier, P., & Corrado, R. (2012). Female juvenile delinquency, motherhood, and the intergenerational transmission of aggression and antisocial behavior. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law, 30*(2), 211-237. Doi: 10.1002/bsl.2010

Tzoumakis, S., Lussier, P., & Corrado, R. R. (2015). Profiles of maternal parenting practices. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 59*(12), 1267-1296. Doi: 10.1177/0306624X14531386

Ungar, M. (2017). Prosecuting environmental crime: Latin America's policy innovation. *Latin American Policy, 8*(1), 63-92. Doi: 10.1111/lamp.12116

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, available at http://www.ohchr.org

United Nations Human Settlements Programme. (2006). *Annual Report 2006.* Kenya: United Nations.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2007). *Annual Report 2007.* Vienna: United Nations.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2011). *Annual Report 2011.* Vienna: United Nations.

United Nations. (2008). *Principles and Recommendations for Population and Housing Census.* New York: United Nations

United Nations. (2011). *The millennium development goals report.* New York: United Nations.

United Nations. (2012). *Preventing adolescent pregnancy and sexual violence.* Guatemala: UNFPA.

Valdez, A. (2007). *Mexican American girls and gang violence beyond risk.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan US : Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan.

Van, D. R., Ruiter, S., De Graaf, N., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2009). When does the apple fall from the tree? static versus dynamic theories predicting intergenerational transmission of convictions. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 26*(3), 371-389. Doi: 10.1007/s10940-009-9089-3

Venkatesh, S. (2008). *Gang leader for a day: A rogue sociologist takes to the streets.* New York: Penguin.

Vijayanath, V., Anitha, M. R., Raju, G. M., & Babladi, P. (2010). Juvenile delinquency. *Biomedical Research, 21*(3), 257-259.

Waldkirch, A., Ng, S., & Cox, D. (2004). Intergenerational linkages in consumption behavior. *Journal of Human Resources, XXXIX*(2), 355-381. Doi: 10.3368/jhr.XXXIX.2.355

Ward, R. A. (2001). Linkages between family and societal-level intergenerational attitudes. *Research on Aging, 23*(2), 179-208. Doi: 10.1177/0164027501232003

Welsh, B. C. & Farrington, D. P. (2011). The benefits and costs of early prevention compared with imprisonment: Toward evidence-based policy. *Prison Journal, 91*(3 Supplement), 120-137.

Whitten, T., Vecchio, N., Radford, K., & Fitzgerald, J. A. (2017). Intergenerational care as a viable intervention strategy for children at risk of delinquency. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 52*(1), 48-62. Doi: 10.1002/ajs4.6

Wiggins, C. (2010). *Child abuse, substance use and dating victimization in a sample of female juvenile delinquents,* ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Wodarski, J., & Mapson, A. V. (2009). A differential analysis of criminal behavior among African-American and caucasian female juvenile delinquents. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 18*(2), 224-239. Doi: 10.1080/10911350802293478

Wolff, K., Baglivio, M., Vaughn, M., DeLisi, M., & Piquero, A. (2017). For males only? the search for serious, violent, and chronic female juvenile offenders. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology, 3*(2), 168-195. Doi:10.1007/s40865-017-0059-4

Wolfgang, M., & Ferracuti, F. (1967). *The subculture of violence.* London: Tavistock.

Wood, C. H., Gibson, C. L., Ribeiro, L., & Hamsho-Diaz, P. (2010). Crime victimization in Latin America and intentions to migrate to the United States. *International Migration Review, 44*(1), 3-24. Doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00796.x

World Bank. (2006). Crime, Violence and Economic Development in Brazil: Elements for Effective Public Policy. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Health Organization. (2002). World Report on Violence and Health. Geneva: World Health Organization.

World Health Organization. (2004). The Economic Dimensions of Interpersonal Violence. Geneva: World Health Organization.

World Health Organization. (2007). Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women: Summary Report of Initial Results on Prevalence, Health Outcomes and Women's Responses. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Worrall, J. (2012). *Why did you do it? explanations for offending by young offenders in their own words*. Hampshire, UK: Waterside Press.

Xie, H., Cairns, B. D., & Cairns, R. B. (2001). Predicting teen motherhood and teen fatherhood: Individual characteristics and peer affiliations. *Social Development, 10*(4), 488-511.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods.* Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage Publications.

Zahn, M. (2008). *The delinquent girl*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Zavala, E. (2013). Testing the link between child maltreatment and family violence among police officers. *Crime & Delinquency, 59*(3), 468-483. Doi: 10.1177/0011128710389584

Zedner, L. (2002). Victims in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology,* 3rd ed, Oxford: Oxford University Press.